

# The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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*for Teachers and Students of History*

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1540 ~

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*A Symposium*

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Jesuit Influence in University Education

William J. McGucken, S. J., Ph. D.

Director of Studies, Missouri Province

IT IS generally admitted by historians that the Jesuits through their far-flung line of colleges in Europe exerted a profound influence on collegiate or, as we should say, secondary education during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The pattern of pre-university education which, if they did not invent it, they certainly systematized and brought to a high degree of perfection, was imitated everywhere in Europe even by those who were far from friendly to the Society. *Les Petites Écoles de Port-Royal* were not above filching an idea here and there from the Jesuit college, although it may be freely granted that they injected a definite note of originality into educational practice. The Fathers of Christian Doctrine and the Fathers of the Oratory of Jesus, competitors more or less friendly of the French Jesuits during the eighteenth century, owed a great deal to Jesuit education. Even today the French *lycée* bears evidence of the Jesuit imprint. As Fülöp-Miller remarks<sup>1</sup>: "Many traces of Jesuitic influence remain in the schools. It should not be overlooked that the advantages as well as the disadvantages of our humanist classical education are for the most part attributable to that pedagogic activity which, at one time, was spread by the Society of Jesus over all the countries of the world."

Even Jesuit writers on the educational work of their Order tend to stress Jesuit activity in the field of preparatory or secondary education to the neglect of their work in higher education. This is only natural. No such phenomenal growth of a system of schools had ever occurred before. In 1556, the date of St. Ignatius' death,

there were thirty-three colleges in existence.<sup>2</sup> This was only a decade after the Jesuits had undertaken the work of schools for extern youth. In 1600, there were 245; in 1710, this number was increased to over 600; in the last decade of its existence before the suppression of the Order in 1773, the Jesuits were in control of over 700 secondary schools for lay youth.<sup>3</sup> Christopher Hollis, in his excellent biography of St. Ignatius, says that there is nothing that can be compared with the rapidity of its progress save, perhaps, the rapidity of the rise of the empires of Alexander and Napoleon.

Nevertheless, Jesuit influence on higher education, though in no way comparable to the influence they exerted on the theory and practice of secondary education, was far from negligible. There are many reasons why there were not more Jesuit universities. First of all there were in the sixteenth century more than three score universities in Europe, most of them fairly well organized, some, Paris, Bologna, Alcalá, still forces to be reckoned with in the Europe of that day. Secondary education was in no such flourishing condition. It was for the most part badly organized, although there were notable exceptions to this generalization. The Brethren of the Common Life, it is true, had in some places organized an excellent system of secondary education, but these schools were comparatively few. Consequently the Jesuits with their admirable administration and effective methods found a field ready for them.

But the Jesuits did not neglect the field of university education. Indeed, before the Society had even settled the question as to whether there were to be Jesuit schools,

<sup>1</sup> *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits*, p. 404.

<sup>2</sup> A. Farrell, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*, pp. 432 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Synopsis Historiae Societatis Jesus*. Ratisbonne, 1914.



two of St. Ignatius' first companions were appointed to lecture at the College of the Sapienza in Rome. Peter Faber lectured on Holy Scripture, Laynez on dogmatic theology. Yet it is clear that the Society was slow to undertake the arduous task of conducting universities. In the lifetime of Ignatius only two were opened, the University of Gandia, which was conducted by the Jesuits from the date of its foundation in 1549, and the University of Coimbra, an earlier foundation, which was handed over to the Jesuits in 1555. After his death, the University of Pont-à-Mousson was opened. Others came later in France, although there were frequent conflicts with the older universities, notably Paris, because the Jesuits used their papal privilege of granting academic degrees.<sup>4</sup>

In Germany the situation was somewhat better. Pachtler lists<sup>5</sup> all the educational foundations of the German provinces. Among them are many of university rank, besides many that might be styled university colleges. In these latter, not only were grammar and the humanistic studies taught, but also courses in philosophy were offered. This was a common practice in many Jesuit colleges. After the completion of rhetoric, the highest class of the *scholae inferiores*, a two or three year course in philosophy was taught both to clerics and to lay youth. As the teaching of philosophy belonged by right to the faculty of arts, one of the traditional faculties in the university, and as the Jesuit college by reason of its papal privileges could and did grant the bachelor's degree to those who had completed successfully the philosophical course, it is easy to see that the Jesuit invasion of the field of higher education is much more extensive than is generally imagined by one who examines the relatively small number of universities under their charge. Moreover, to the Society was entrusted in many places pontifical seminaries with the pontifical privilege of granting degrees in philosophy and theology. Because these institutions had the traditional faculty of arts (*facultas artistica*) and the faculty of theology, they were rightly regarded as of university rank. Theology was not then regarded, as it is in the naturalistic secular world of today, the pariah among the sciences; theology was then *Madame la haute science*.

With these varied contacts in the sphere of university education, what precisely did the Jesuits achieve? What modifications or systematizations did they make on the pattern of higher education? Before this question can be answered it is necessary to take a brief glance at the sixteenth century intellectual world. Two forces were at work: the old thirteenth century with its devotion to *ideas*, its absorption in philosophy and theology, its curriculum based on Aristotle and Aquinas; on the other hand, there was the new force that came in part from the Renaissance, with its humanistic interest in Greco-Roman civilization and culture and its devotion to *eloquentia*. Space will not permit an enlargement and qualification of this statement which is obviously *trop simpliste*.

It should be noted here that the Western World from the days of Cassiodorus had been looking for a synthesis, a synthesis of sacred and profane learning. The goal of Christendom was the preservation of the liberal arts, a heritage from the pagan world, and the ennobling of them

by whatever of truth and beauty and goodness had been presented to the world by Him who is the Way, the Truth, the Life. Patiently, through the great thousand years, the *respublica litteraria et Christiana* sought for this synthesis, held out the ideal of a complete education, *enkuklios paideia*, but never quite achieved it. In the twelfth century, Hugh of St. Victor presented in his *Didascalion*<sup>6</sup> such a synthesis and John of Salisbury in his *Metalogicon*<sup>7</sup> issued a vigorous protest against the Cornificians who were neglecting the foundation of grammar and rhetoric in their craze for dialectics.

Unfortunately the Cornificians won the battle. With the coming of the *logica nova*, the triumph of dialectic was complete; it not only received the major emphasis in the *artes triviales*, but the dialectic method invaded all the other arts.<sup>8</sup> As a consequence, the Latin schools, where boys were prepared for the university, tended to give "short courses" in Latin grammar that would enable the youth to pass the simple entrance examination. Another consequence was that competent men would not engage in the teaching of grammar and rhetoric. The very name of schoolmaster was in contempt.<sup>9</sup> It is true that at the University of Paris in 1535, grammar and rhetoric once more were listed among the liberal arts alongside of philosophy by decision of the faculty. Yet it was rare to find in the universities even in the sixteenth century the humanities regarded as of the same value as philosophy. The earlier humanists found the universities for the most part uninterested in, if not hostile to, the New Learning. Later, when humanism did secure entrance, it was not without a bitter struggle, as for example at Cologne in the sixteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

Where the humanists were in the university, they were usually established in a college or gymnasium that was *in* the university, but not in the strict sense of the university. Unquestionably the humanists and the New Learning were much in evidence at the universities, as d'Irsay shows in his recent study,<sup>11</sup> but it may still be doubted whether they influenced to any notable extent the traditional curriculum of the arts' course. At best the study of eloquence and humane letters was something of supererogation that the university tolerated, something that curious *dilettanti* engaged in for a time before they devoted themselves to the serious business of life, the study of philosophy. It is interesting in this connection to note that the framers of the Ratio, devoted humanists though they were, included *rhetorica*, which was to form the youth *ad perfectam eloquentiam*, among the *studia inferiora*. There is no professor of humanities or rhetoric listed among the "higher" faculties of the Ratio, despite the fact that in the Fourth Part of the Constitutions of the Society, (Pars IV, c. xii), it is explicitly stated: "Since instruction in theology . . . demands a knowledge of human letters . . . suitable professors shall be secured [for the Jesuit university]."

<sup>6</sup> Migne, *PL.*, 176: 739-809.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 199: 823-946.

<sup>8</sup> Pare, Brunet, Trembla, *La renaissance du xii siècle: les écoles et l'enseignement*, *passim*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. J-B Herman, *La Pédagogie des Jésuites au xvi siècle*, chapitre iii.

<sup>10</sup> Josef Kuckhoff, *Die Geschichte des Tricoronatus*, 43 ff.

<sup>11</sup> S. d'Irsay, *Histoire des Universités Françaises et Étrangères*, Tome I.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Fouquieray, *Histoire de la Compagnie en France*, *passim*.  
<sup>5</sup> *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae* S. J., III, ix ff.



# The Blackrobes in the Americas

John F. Bannon, S. J., Ph. D.

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"THE WHOLE of Catholic missionary activity throughout the Western Hemisphere was shaped by the members of the Jesuit order." Thus writes William Bennett Munro in one of his studies on the history of New France.<sup>1</sup> The statement is a glowing tribute, indeed, to the apostolic activities of the Black Robes, but it is also more than a little unfair to the devoted, self-sacrificing, zealous men who wore robes of a different color. Franciscans and Capuchins, Dominicans, Augustinians, Mercedarians, and Carmelites, Recollects and Sulpicians, all, had their American missions and should not be overlooked in an appraisal of the work of the Church during colonial times. They had their martyrs and apostles, their American glories, and deserve their full share of credit for their achievements. Yet there is something about the missionary enterprise of the sons of Loyola which has captured the attention of historians and which has created a tendency to make Catholic missionary activity synonymous with Black Robe endeavor and accomplishment.

If the basis of this historical judgment is mere territorial extension, then there would seem to be a certain justification for it. By the middle of the eighteenth century, shortly before the several "Catholic" colonial powers turned the Jesuits out of their respective American empires, there was scarce a frontier in the New World where the Black Robe was not a familiar figure. Often a pioneer in middle and later colonial times the Black Robe, however, was not an American pioneer in the strict sense. That distinction, with its corresponding onus, was enjoyed by the missionaries of the older orders, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Augustinians. Fact of the matter is that Ignatius was but a child when Brown Robes and White Robes were already coping with the mission problems of the New World. Almost half a century of experience had made the sons of the older religious families seasoned American veterans before the Jesuits even came into being. However, circumstances very soon contrived to favor the apostolic ambitions of the new order when it began its career of service in 1540.

Hardly had Paul III put his stamp of pontifical approval on the Society, when one of the first Jesuits by his remarkable missionary achievements began to draw the attention of the whole Christian world to the young foundation. In the Catholic mind Francis Xavier rapidly became the symbol for the apostolic aspect of that expansionist urge which gripped Europe in the sixteenth century. And before long Xavier's brethren were given an opportunity to follow his example in the hope that they might emulate his successes in that great New World of the West, which Spain and Portugal had divided between them and which they had agreed to Christianize in return for the privilege of exploiting it.

In 1549, that same Joao III of Portugal, who had sent Master Francis to his Indies of the East, despatched P. Manuel de Nóbrega and five companions to Brazil, in the company of the captain-general Tomé de Sousa.<sup>2</sup> This

half-dozen Portuguese Jesuits formed the first in what was to be a long line of Black Robes in the Americas. Settling in Bahía the padres were soon at work and together Nóbrega and Sousa laid the permanent foundation of the Portuguese empire in America, winning for themselves the glorious title of "Founders of Brazil."<sup>3</sup> Other Jesuits came out in succeeding years and from Bahía Black Robe activity spread southward to Sao Paulo. This last was the field of labor of the remarkable P. José de Anchieta, the "Xavier of the West."

The Portuguese Jesuits had been at work for seventeen years, formulating by painful experiment what was to be the characteristic Jesuit mission system, before Philip of Spain yielded to the importunities from overseas and allowed the Black Robes entrance into his colonial domain.<sup>4</sup> In 1566, three weighed anchor at San Lúcar for Florida, the superior, P. Pedro Martínez, soon destined to be the first Jesuit martyr of North America.<sup>5</sup> The following year, P. Jerónimo Ruiz de Portillo and seven companions—each of the four Spanish provinces of the Society contributing two men—shipped for Peru.<sup>6</sup> Five years later (1572) P. Pedro Sánchez and his group of fifteen arrived in New Spain to begin the second American province.<sup>7</sup>

From the capitals of the two viceroyalties, México and Lima, the Spanish Black Robes moved out gradually to begin their great work of frontier service for the glory of Both Majesties, God and king.<sup>8</sup> By 1611, when the first of their French brethren, Biard and Massé, were landing in Acadia, the Jesuits of New Spain were pushing up the Western Slope of Mexico's Sierra Madre Occidental and to the east of the range were well established among the Tepehuanes and the Laguneros of the central plateau. In South America the padres had frontier foundations in the Province of Quito (modern Ecuador) and in Nueva Granada (modern Colombia), and this last area was already a vice-province of the Society. Southward they had gone to begin the thankless task of attempting to convert the bellicose Araucanians of Chile. And greatest of all, at least in the light of the future, their newly founded province of Paraguay had organized the first of the famous Reductions. Nor were the Portuguese Jesuits idle during these years. They were

<sup>2</sup> Rodrigues, Francisco, S. J., *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, 1 tomo, 2 vols. (Porto, 1931), I, v. 2, 538-541.

<sup>3</sup> Calogeras, João Pandiá, *A History of Brazil*, tr. by Percy Alvin Martin (Chapel Hill, 1939), 10-11.

<sup>4</sup> Florencia, Francisco, S. J., *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España* (Mexico, 1694), 1-6, 67-74.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*, 6-66, gives the story of the Jesuits in Florida. Cf. also Kenny, Michael, S. J., *The Romance of the Floridas* (Milwaukee, 1934).

<sup>6</sup> Astrain, Antonio, S. J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, 7 vols. (Madrid, 1902-1925), II, 304-315.

<sup>7</sup> Alegre, Francisco Javier, S. J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, 3 vols. (written c. 1760—Mexico, 1841-1842), I, 1-216.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Astrain, *op. cit.*, IV, 387-732; Alegre, *op. cit.*, I and II, *passim*. Important for Jesuit expansion in New Spain is Pérez de Ribas, Andrés, *Historia de los Triunfos de nuestra Santa Fee* (Madrid, 1645).

<sup>1</sup> *Crusaders of New France* (New Haven, 1918), 116.



deep in the *Bahía sertao*, and in Sao Paulo their devotion to the Indians was already winning them that undying enmity of the whites, thwarted in designs of ruthless exploitation, which would make that of Brazil a very stormy chapter in the greater Jesuit story.

Just as Frenchmen and Englishmen, from the point of view of colonization, were late-comers on the American scene, so too were the French and the English Jesuits. In 1611, PP. Biard and Massé came to Acadia to begin missionary activities among the Indians of the north.<sup>9</sup> The Acadian mission, however, was destined to be of short duration, though reinforcements came two years later, P. Jacques Quentin and a lay brother, Gilbert Du Thet. In that same year, 1613, Samuel Argall also came, in his raid killing Brother Du Thet and capturing the three priests, thus putting an untimely end to the Jesuit enterprise.

When the French settled in the Valley of the St. Lawrence the Grey-Robed Recollects were assigned the duties of the Indian apostolate. Energetically though they strove, the fewness of their numbers made them unequal to the vast task and, in 1625, the Jesuits were called in to help.<sup>10</sup> Four years later again the English interfered and held Canada until 1632. In that year, however, it was returned to the French and the Jesuits came back to complete their century and a half of heroic service. The year of their first coming to Quebec also marks their entrance as missionaries into the French possessions of the Caribbean area. By 1652 there were seventeen French Jesuits in the islands, St. Christopher, Martinique, and Guadeloupe, and they were also to labor in Cayenne on the northern coast of South America.

The colonial work of the English Jesuits was, as is easily understood, less spectacular, hampered as they were by the hostility of home and colonial governments.<sup>11</sup> However, when the *Ark* and the *Dove* anchored off Heron Island, in March, 1634, there were three Jesuits, Fathers White and Altham and Brother Thomas Gervase, in the company disembarking. Under adverse conditions the English Black Robes continued on in Maryland and at times were able to spread a bit farther afield in their apostolic endeavor, but never were they able to rival the successes of their Latin brethren with the native Americans. In general their ministrations were confined to the settlers. The possibility of work for the Indians was practically nullified by English intolerance and very especially by the typical lack of interest in the spiritual fate of the Red Man.

<sup>9</sup> Rochemonteix, Camille de, S. J., *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1895-1896), I, 1-84.

<sup>10</sup> Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, 85-450. A satisfactory short account is available in Marquis, Thomas, *Jesuit Missions* (Toronto, 1916). Cf. also Fouqueray, Henri, S. J., *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1919-1925), IV, 291-314.

<sup>11</sup> Hughes, Thomas, S. J., *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, 2 vols. (New York, 1907-1917), is the authority on the English Jesuits in America.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Astrain, Alegre, Rochemonteix, for general accounts. Numerous other works might be mentioned for this period, some contemporary, as Techo, Lozano, Montoya, Charlevoix on Paraguay, Ovalle and Rosales on Chile, Altamirano on the Mojos mission, Figueroa, Chantre y Herrera, and Rodriguez on the Marañon mission, Gumilla and Rivero for the Orinoco, Kino on Sonora, Clavijero on Baja California, and others the products of such modern scholars as Hernández, Pastells, Bolton, Delanglez, and others.

The last hundred years of Jesuit endeavor in the colonial Americas, roughly from mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century, saw a great extension of the mission frontiers throughout the two continents.<sup>12</sup> In Chile success had been less marked, for the Jesuits, like the Spaniards themselves, had made small headway with the terrible Araucanians. The province of Peru, however, could boast of great gains in its mission among the Mojos, living in the vast plains region to the east of the Andes (northern modern Bolivia). The padres of Quito, too, were east of the Cordillera in the Marañon, where besides their work of evangelizing the natives they were among Spain's most effective agents in contesting the encroachments of the Portuguese up the Amazon. The thriving missions of the upper Orinoco were a source of consolation to the Black Robes of Nueva Granada. In Paraguay, despite the raids of the Paulistas and controversies with the Spanish authorities, lay and ecclesiastical, the famous Reductions were operating in a high degree of apostolic efficiency—shortly before the expulsion better than 113,000 Indians were gathered in fifty-seven missions. And the Paraguay Fathers had extended their activities to include the tribes of the Argentine pampas and the Chaco. The Portuguese Jesuits had not fared so well, for the storm of white opposition had made the century a hectic one. Yet they struggled on against such odds, adding to the glories of their service to the natives. In the Antilles French and Spanish Jesuits continued their endeavors for settler, native, and slave alike.

The "last century" witnessed great Jesuit frontier developments in North America as well. The padres of New Spain, reinforced by Jesuits from the North European provinces, pushed up the Western Slope into Sonora and across the present international boundary to southern Arizona. The great enterprise in Baja California dates from 1697. Up Mexico's central plateau they were far to the north among the Tarahumares of Chihuahua. The French Black Robes, too, were moving out. After the Iroquois destroyed their promising Huronia they followed the Christian survivors westward to the upper lakes region, where other tribes were contacted as well. Then they dropped down into the heart of the continent in the Illinois country, to realize the dreams which Marquette did not live to fulfill. And with the occupation of Louisiana they were soon called to work among the Indians of the lower valley. The royal messengers who sought out the Black Robes with decrees of banishment, in 1758 and 1763 and 1767, covered a great many miles on the two American continents. And better than three thousand Jesuits were affected.<sup>13</sup>

The territorial extension of the Jesuits is impressive, but that alone is scarcely enough to warrant the consistent use of superlatives when historians speak of the missions during the colonial era. It may seem idle to speak of a Jesuit system, inferring thereby that there were in colonial America a number of systems, and yet we think the

<sup>13</sup> Piecing together data as to numbers from Astrain, *op. cit.*, VII, and from *Synopsis Historiae Societatis Jesu* (Ratisbon, 1914) the total goes to 3290—the figures for the various provinces are all for 1749 or later, Mexico being the only one found which gives exact numbers for the year of the expulsion. The figures given by Huonder, Anton, S. J., *Deutsche Missionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg, 1899) are for 1750 as the latest date.

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## EDITORIALS

### *Apologia pro Familia Nostra*

On the occasion of this four hundredth anniversary of the Society of Jesus we shall find it difficult to avoid bragging a bit about the family origins. But with all due modesty we insist that the topic deserves attention. Some fifteen years ago at the University of Munich we took a history course covering the Reformation period. As we then estimated, the story of Jesuit beginnings amounted to about one-sixth of the whole course. A year later, while sampling the lectures of the leading scholars of the University of Berlin we were rather agreeably surprised to find Hans Lietzmann talking about nothing else but Jesuits. It may have been a mere coincidence that this treat awaited a casual visitor with only a week or so to spare in the German metropolis. But four consecutive classes devoted to an appreciation of Jesuit activities in the seventeenth century would seem to indicate that the Society of Jesus played an important historical role. Or again, in Munich the same brilliant professor who had given us eight full hours on the founding of the Jesuits in the sixteenth century gave us no less than four hours on their suppression in the eighteenth century. Finally, there was the somewhat more specialized course at Munich in which Heinrich Günther summed up half a semester with the whip-crack statement that "... in Germany Peter Canisius was the Counter-Reformation."

At times we have felt that undergraduates, and graduate students as well, have been not a little bewildered at a seeming lack of proportion when we lingered beyond an hour on the Jesuit contribution to sixteenth century history. How would they react to the dynamic pounding home of big truths by the former Rector Magnificus of Munich? Except perhaps as individuals, this historian had no particular interest in Jesuits. In fact, he betrayed at times a strong dislike for certain features of religious orders in general. If he gave much time to the Jesuits, he was merely explaining objective history. The Berlin professor displayed a strange admiration for practically everything and everybody connected with the Society, for Bellarmine, Canisius, the Bollandists and the Reductions of Paraguay. But he ended the last lecture we heard with a warning to his students, mostly Lutherans, that all good Germans had ample "grounds for hating the Jesuits—

as enemies of human liberty." One point, however, is certain: ignoring or belittling the historical achievements of the Society or its power would be considered simply a mark of ignorance in any historian.

### *A Blind Spot*

And yet, there is a blind spot in the vision of many a university professor. And we are thinking now of German professors whose names are known around the world. They will list the rich primary sources in the voluminous *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, as well as the monumental histories of Astrain, Duhr, Hughes, Tachi Venturi, Fouqueray, Rodriguez, Kröss and Poncelet. But one suspects that the painstaking research which professional pride demands in other fields of history is too often lacking here. Heaps of mud have been thrown at the Society in the past, and because it is next to impossible to wash it all off the historian in a hurry is likely to call attention to it, and leave the impression that the record is not so spotless after all. Forgeries and calumnies will be recognized as such. The Jesuit of legend will be ridiculed as a fabrication of unscrupulous enemies. The "revelations" of renegades from the Society will be repudiated. The documented refutation of thirty-four out of a thousand and more "Jesuit Fables" by Father Bernard Duhr is generally accepted. Official archives and private papers sequestered in the dead of night by the governments of the old regime are known to be accessible. But somehow, in spite of it all, we are never surprised when a scholar slips in his generalizations about things Jesuit, and ascribes simple facts to mysterious forces, even to "Jesuitical" forces. Perhaps obvious explanations are too obvious.

It would be amusing for a critic, without the prepossessions to which we quite candidly own in this matter, to apply the ordinary rules of historical evidence to many a supposedly scientific work on the Jesuits. Before me as I write is a publisher's announcement of a 1939 college text. The book is called an "outstanding piece of scholarly research. . . ." Three short paragraphs suffice to date the author's "scholarship." We stopped reading when we came to this morsel of mid-nineteenth century erudition: "In the eighteenth century the society degenerated. It turned away from its former ideals to banking



and commercial enterprises. . . . and its high-handed and ruthless measures, even to *successfully plotting the assassinations of kings*, aroused widespread condemnation." Surely this is more sophomoric than scientific. We readily understand how the amateur who reads at random is likely to retain just such notions about the Jesuits. But anyone who has been exposed to a course in historical method should be more critical in the use of sources.

#### *Fact and Fable*

If we equate mere statement with truth and accusation with guilt, it is hard to defend the Society of Jesus. The number and variety of its enemies, the amount and variety of the charges against it would seem to leave the Jesuits without a case before the bar of history. One may dispose of the matter by arguing that since the Jesuits are not perfect (evidently not!), and since they cannot be guilty of all the crimes listed by their enemies, one is free to accept or reject as much as he likes. But would not this mean an abdication of historical sense, if not of historical science? Moreover, since the problem has been created by unhistorical, antihistorical and pseudohistorical writers, surely it is incumbent upon sincere scholars to do something about it. Finally, the task is a comparatively easy one. The charges are often absurdly at variance with the known facts, and the authors of them are, in most cases, muck-rakers and special pleaders. And for those who do not care to make the personal effort that must go into any filtering process, calumnies, forgeries and false interpretations have been analyzed, traced to their muddy sources and refuted.

Nearly fifty years ago Father Bernard Duhr published his *Jesuiten-Fabeln*, a masterly exposure of thirty-four major monstrosities. There is no bitterness in his eight hundred and more pages, but his calm criticism does make the *Jesuiten-Fresser* look a bit silly. In his introduction he pleads for an honest use of the most elementary rules of historical technique. When the Society is on trial, go back, he urges, to the original witnesses and test them for competence and veracity; beware of the "logic" which generalizes from an individual in a given set of circumstances to thousands of others far removed in space and time; do not wrench words or phrases from their context. If you find, however, that the "sins" of the Society are bound up with the traditional dogma, moral teaching and asceticism of the Catholic Church, *habes confitentes reos*. Father Duhr insists that "out of thousands of fables" he has selected only a small fraction. He has given us enough to suggest that the "medieval" teaching on Original Sin has some basis in historical fact, and to create the presumption that the Jesuits may have a fairly clean record after all.

We feel sure that the author of *Jesuiten-Fabeln* intended no sarcasm when he sub-titled his book: a contribution to *Culturgeschichte!* The book is, in sober fact, an historical survey of lying on a grand scale. The lies are legion in number, they are malicious, they are frequently ridiculous, and they have been believed and propagated by "cultured" people. In this campaign at least, the end seems to sanctify the means! Fanatical preachers in the sixteenth century worked on the theory that the dumb masses would swallow any tale of Popish, Romish depravity. But here we find highbrow scientific period-

icals, learned academies in solemn session, outstanding historians and theological writers victimized, shall we say willingly, by forged documents, letters, books, by imposters parading as Jesuits, by Jesuit doctrines that were never taught. And strangely enough a writer seems to lose no credit by a display of anti-Jesuit bias. Like many American scholars in war time, he is expected to be uncritical in accepting atrocity stories about the enemy. All this is a fair index to certain features of modern culture.

#### *Solem Sagitta Nulla Ferit*

Arrows never hit the sun. The Company of Jesus is untouched by the shafts of envy. This is the theme of a Latin poem of the year 1640. And heading the page on which the poem appears is a copper etching to illustrate the idea. Four grotesque figures shoot their arrows at the unperturbed sun. Blinded by the brightness of its rays, they aim at random. More important, the laughing sun is too far above the archers. Their bows are too weak. The arrows turn in mid-air and double straight back to their starting point. This is, of course, an artist's conception, born amid the rejoicing of the first centennial. One may see in it something more than a shadow of the pride which is said to be the explanation of Jesuit unpopularity. It may reveal a confidence in the righteousness of their cause, a consciousness of their own unselfish consecration to high duties, a disregard for merely earthly considerations. In any case, we have here a graphic picturing of a monotonous fact: the Society has been the object of envy. If some have regarded this as subtle flattery and nothing more, others have seen in it an obstacle to fruitful apostolic labor. "Flower-wreathed with unfading calumnies, scarlet and splendid with eternal slander," the Society of Jesus will continue its work. And one may balance the ultimate value of persecution against the immediate losses caused by it.

If we seem to be betraying a persecution complex, we can only hope that this is less disagreeable to our readers than the bragging we might do about the achievements of the Company founded by Ignatius Loyola to set the world on fire. But really we have no persecution complex. Thoughts of self-pity, or moaning about past wrongs, or worrying about the future of a world that fails to understand us, would be out of harmony with the quadricentennial spirit. We have lived with Jesuits in exile; we have lived with them as outlaws in their own country. We have seen them suffer because they were Catholic priests; we have seen them under a cloud because the Catholic clergy did not like them. At most, the situation furnished a topic for casual conversation. No single persecution is, in fact, either very exciting or very depressing. At the moment, it is the cumulative effect of attack after attack which rouses our historical curiosity, and provides material for a few editorial reflections.

#### *Born for Trouble*

The Company of Jesus seems to have been born for trouble. In fact, there was a sort of pre-natal attack upon the Company in the person of its founder. Ignatius Loyola was badgered, beaten, imprisoned during the

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# The Jesuit Theatre

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WRITING on the spirit, extent, and popularity of the early Jesuit theatre in *The Fleur de Lis* a few years ago, I concluded with a paragraph that may serve as introduction here:

The system which I have described (of necessity somewhat sketchily) assumes in fact the complexion of an international—catholic and Catholic—free theatre which flourished for two centuries and more, from 1550 to the suppression of the Society of Jesus in the late 1700's. During this time it was vital in a vast Continental network of dramatic centres. Its vitality was expressed in plays of various kinds, predominantly in tragedy and forms allied to this. At its command it had eager and overflowing audiences, completely representative of society, and over it hovered the patronage of rulers and their Courts. Recommended everywhere by its vogue with the aristocracy and the educated, its successes were clothed with a respectability that invited imitation. Besides the numerous spectators of the present, it was cultivating in the thousands of youths of all nations who frequented Jesuit colleges the taste of play-goers of the future; and among these same boys and young men it was helping to train many of the national playwrights of years to come, both in dramatic theory of the Jesuit blend and in actual play-presentation. Moreover, there is evidence that, apart from playwrights thus early associated with this theatre, others saw in its product materials worth borrowing for the secular stage. Finally, not the least of its achievements was that of preserving in the hearts of the masses a kindly regard for the drama, a feeling which Puritanism did its best to destroy.<sup>1</sup>

A right understanding of the Jesuit theatre keeps it in its place as but one item in the large matter of Jesuit education, which used this device along with many another in the cause of Christian humanism, but none with more enthusiasm and effectiveness. The Jesuit play was born in the schoolroom where the Latin classics were studied; from the simple dialogue it developed within those walls into the short class play; thence it emerged to the semi-publicity of the school play; thence to the full publicity of performance for an outside audience; and finally, because of its reputation for entertainment and display, it became on occasion a civic affair. In their widespread system of college theatres that diverted continental Europe for over two centuries, the Jesuits conducted what must have been the first successful chain of theatres in history. I refrain from calling the achievement colossal.

Because Catholic colleges today still have their theatres, it may not be unprofitable, in the space allowed, to inspect the purpose that animated the early Jesuit system and to estimate its validity for our day.

The literary training given in early Jesuit schools had for its goal all that is implied in the then current expression, "eloquentia latina"—through familiarity with, and consummate facility in the use of, classical Latin, spoken and written, prose and verse. Had you asked the playwright to justify his work, the first reason to spring to his lips would undoubtedly have been that it helped supremely to this great end. He had been taught this by the great Jesuit educators who composed the *Ratio Studiorum*, for whom the theatre was a school exercise "sine qua poesis paene omnis friget ac jacet."<sup>2</sup> Its close and pleasant cooperation with literary studies was evident to the play-

wright everywhere from the small scenes composed by his students and acted in their classes to the great "tragoedia solemnitas" of the scholastic year, in which the school's finest often talked the sun to bed in Latin verses of the Jesuit teacher's own composing; outdoing, in staying-power at least, the triumph of Maurice Evans in his full-length *Hamlet*.

Through both private and public performances the Jesuit achieved another end which he had very much at heart. He taught his pupils to appear to advantage before an audience. The Jesuit educator wished to influence the outside world by sending forth into it leaders of men; and not only those within the colleges, but laymen outside also, appreciated dramatic activities in this light—as, for example, the mayor of a French provincial town who, when the local college had proposed dropping the annual prize-day drama, felt obliged to veto the proposal, remarking that dramatic training "a cela de bonne qu'elle forme la jeunesse à parler en public, à bien déclamer, et rende le geste libre et la parole facile, exercice utile à la chaire et au barreau."<sup>3</sup> From the start the Jesuits were aware of this virtue of the theatre. An early official instruction to masters insists on proper training of actors in the use of the voice.<sup>4</sup> Jouvancy's manual, which had some authority throughout the school system, has a section on voice-production and gesture and the various elements of delivery.<sup>5</sup> Grace of gesture and carriage, ease and distinction of manner, were constantly in view from first to last, as can be seen in admonitions from preceptors like sixteenth-century Pontanus down to eighteenth-century Lang. The latter, for instance, has a chapter entitled, "The Principles of Acting and the Bodily Parts Chiefly to be Trained"; which is followed by separate chapters on the management of the feet, of the knees, waist, kneeling, sitting, of the arms, elbows, hands, and of the artistic use of the other bodily members in acting, chiefly the eyes and head.<sup>6</sup> Jouvancy recommends the help of dancing-masters in training actors. And a thick volume could be written on the Jesuit ballet, a most remarkable and elaborate institution that occupied in its heyday a large number of students, all of them presumably graceful. There is no rashness, therefore, in assuming that this theatre was expected by its sponsors to contribute abundantly to the effect said by a historian of their University of Pont-à-Mousson to have been realized in the students of that school: "that happy blending of assurance and modesty which constitutes the charm of well-bred young men."<sup>7</sup>

It must be already evident that the Horatian composite of delight and instruction was being realized in the two purposes we have discussed. That an instructive purpose should actuate drama in schools founded with definite

<sup>3</sup> Cf. L. V. Gofflot, *Le théâtre au collège du moyen âge à nos jours* (Paris, 1907), pp. 86-7.

<sup>4</sup> Pachtler, I. 275.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Jouvancy, *Ratio discendi et docendi* (Parisiis, 1691), Pars I, cap. ii, no. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Franciscus Lang, *Dissertatio de actione scenica* (Monachi, 1727), pp. 17-45.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gofflot, p. 92.

<sup>1</sup> "Christian Humanism and Drama," *The Fleur de Lis*, XXXIII (March, 1934), 22-33.

<sup>2</sup> G. M. Pachtler, *Ratio Studiorum et Institutiones scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes* (Berlin, 1887-1894), II, 176.



Christian intent, by masters who made profession of the life of perfection, in charge of students whose moral training was as much a matter of concern as their intellectual development—this goes without saying. Moreover, the times imposed a didactic theatre. There was the Counter-Reformation to be promoted; there was the Inquisition to encourage positive edification on the stage; there was Jansenism to be vanquished, at the Jesuits' very doors; there was the watchful opposition of certain other universities—Paris, for instance—in the face of which the school theatre had to be justified.

In general, there was the great cause of Christian humanism to be carried on by the production of young men who would be leaders, by the production of cultivated good citizens. That this was an all-enveloping preoccupation is borne out both in the character of the plays performed and in published Jesuit utterances about their purpose. In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese Da Cruz spoke plainly: "Why does the Society of Jesus promote these things? What has she to do with the theatre? . . . One reason moves us and always will: the good of the nation, to be won by painstaking training to the good life."<sup>8</sup> Similarly the editor of the plays of Bidermann, Munich's leading dramatist, says of him that he brought the stage gracefully into the service of Christian living, an end striven for in part by a judicious mingling of the comic with the serious, "ne perpetuo scena horresceret, et tristes philosophi in arena soli dominantur."<sup>9</sup> So too the great Rapin, well known to students of literary criticism, held that poetry, like all arts, must serve the public weal.<sup>10</sup> Indeed a dictionary of Jesuit utterances to this effect would make a voluminous — and a monotonous — collection.

Their testimony is not needed. The evidence of didactic purpose abounds in the extant plays and ballets. The aims of the mystery and miracle plays and of the moralities are everywhere present. There are personifications of virtues and vices, embodiments of good and evil spirits; besides Christus-plays with their ranks of messianic forerunners from the Old Testament, there is a long list of other plots drawn from Old and New Testaments; there is an exhaustive series of plays based on the lives of the saints and the martyrs.

The natural virtues were cultivated (and supernaturalized) in profane subjects meant to teach filial and parental duty and love, loyalty and patriotism, generosity, honor, chastity, fidelity, prudence, temperance, fortitude and justice. Classical themes served this purpose; and the ancient history of the East and of the West, of Byzantium and of later Rome, the modern annals of Europe, and even contemporary history yielded plenty of materials.

The exposition of positive theology runs freely through the plays. In them the theologian will find familiar matter on the Church, faith, hope, and love, the attributes of God, His creation of the world, angels, men, the gift of grace and man's fall, the Incarnation of the Son of God, the worship due to Christ and the honor owed to His mother

and to the saints, actual grace and merit, the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in the just, the Sacraments and the sacramentals, and finally the reward or punishment that awaits men after death. It was by positive teaching, rather than by polemics, that the Jesuit theatre shared in the Counter-Reformation; so that even in Germany they wrote little controversial drama to oppose the much produced by apostles of the Reformation. In France, however, given the French love of teasing, it was inevitable that Jansenism should be satirized in Jesuit comedy.<sup>11</sup>

There was further in the Jesuit use of the theatre a frank purpose of advertisement. This has a clear Ignatian ancestry, as appears from his instruction to the men he sent to found schools in Germany, advising them to introduce minor theatricals among their pupils "per animarli più, et consolarli et anche li parente loro . . . del che etiam crescerà l'autorità della schuole."<sup>12</sup> Phrases like the last run through documents about the schools with a persistence that irritates: one wonders whether this was merely a vulgar desire to outdo other educators or something more worthy than that. Because it touched the theatre, we must try to understand the reasons underlying this candid wish for publicity.

The colleges sprang up all over the Continent in response to a demand. Founders presented themselves asking the Society to take charge of schools ready for occupancy or shortly to be provided, and for this urgency a double reason can be assigned. Everywhere education had declined: the history of sixteenth-century pedagogy reveals how mercenary and brutalized teaching had become, and to what a low level it had sunk as well morally and religiously as intellectually. Then, too, the Reformation was gaining ground and the old Church was losing correspondingly. The new college was in demand as at once a remedy for the educational distress and a rampart against the invading Reformation. When we reflect that requests for colleges came from both rulers and civic magistrates in various parts of the world, and that the classrooms overflowed immediately with the assorted youth of these regions, we see that the people in general regarded the schools in the light which I have described; and Montaigne could well write in his *Journal de Voyage* after visiting the Jesuit College in Rome:

C'est merveille combien de part ce collège tient en la chrestienté, et croi qu'il ne fut jamais confrérie et corps parmi nous qui tint un tel rang, ny qui produisit enfin des effets tels que fairont ceus ci, si leurs desseins continuent. . . . C'est une pépinière de grands hommes en toutes sortes de grandeurs. C'est celui de nos membres qui menasse le plus les hérétiques de nostre temps.<sup>13</sup> That many church dignitaries held the colleges in high regard for the same reasons appears from the history of their activities as founders and patrons, and, what concerns us more directly, from their attendance at theatrical performances. To the Jesuits themselves humanism came laden with the spoils of Egypt to be transformed into a servant of Christianity. It was a necessary ingredient of Christian culture, in the pursuit of which they naturally sought to make their colleges superior to those of their enemies and rivals, and to maintain and augment the

<sup>8</sup> Ludovicus Da Cruz, *Tragicæ comicaeque actiones* (Lugduni, 1604), Preface.

<sup>9</sup> Jacobus Bidermann, *Ludi theatrales sacri* (Monachi, 1666), p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> René Rapin, *Réflexions sur la Poétique d'Aristote* (Paris, 1674), VIII.

<sup>11</sup> E.g., in G. Bougeant's *La femme docteur* (1730), which rapidly went through twenty-five editions and was translated into Italian, Spanish, Polish and Dutch.

<sup>12</sup> Pachter, III, 472.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Henri Fouquieray, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France* (Paris, 1910-1925), II, 65.



esteem in which they were held by friends. Looked to by their world as saviors of education and champions of orthodoxy, they strove to present their schools to advantage before that world, to assure founders and patrons that their intentions were being carried out, and to reassure to the same effect those whose sons populated the schools; as an early Jesuit put it, they labored "ut bonus odor scholarum discipulos et eorum parentes animaret."<sup>14</sup>

In the light of these considerations, such official expressions as the following become acceptable:

There should be a strong incentive towards planning our studies well in the fact that our work is daily before the eyes of the world, even of those who are ill-disposed towards us. These will have a good case against us unless we offset the effects of their bad will by industry and prudent administration, especially since there are many at work in this field of letters who, since they take it hard to be outdone by us, are striving overmuch to push ahead at our expense.<sup>15</sup>

This concern led to the compilation of the *Ratio Studiorum*, in the first draft of which (1586) these reasons of advertisement are frankly extended to the theatre:

Now both the boys and their parents become wonderfully enthusiastic, and also become more attached to our Society, when through our efforts the students are enabled to give some evidence of their study, acting, and ready memory, in the theatre.<sup>16</sup> To the end, this honest desire for publicity was urged by Jesuit superiors: Visconti, Superior General of the Order from 1751 to 1755, still championed the cause of the theatre in a letter on the promotion of humanistic studies: "Exercises of this kind do much to demonstrate the progress of our students, and at the same time to win respect for our schools."<sup>17</sup>

But all this was many years ago. What of the Catholic school theatre today? Are the ancient reasons for its existence still valid? Those competent to do so might

<sup>14</sup> Polanco, *Chronicon Societatis Jesu* (Matriiti, 1894-1898), IV, 102.

<sup>15</sup> Pachtler, II, 26.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 131.

make some interesting observations here. Among points to be considered the following may be suggested.

The passing of the centuries has made vernacular "eloquence" rather than Latin the object of literary training in the schools—we can thus justify, certainly, our drama in English (or American). Our students still need the training the stage can give them towards ease and grace in public appearance and speech. We still wish to produce graduates who show that "happy blending of assurance and modesty that is the charm of well-bred young men." Character training still remains part of our obligation to those whom we receive in our schools. Our republic still looks to us for good citizens. If the Reformation is no longer about our ears as immediately as it was to the Jesuit of the sixteenth century, some of its effects are; they may be discerned in the paganism that we deplore constantly in American life. The Christian training that we give still needs advertising, for reasons parallel to those that the early educators felt, and for the added one that it costs money to receive a Catholic education, while a non-Christian education may be had nextdoor for nothing. The school theatre once achieved these ends admirably.

The modern department of speech does some of the work of the early Jesuit theatre, but not all. Does the drama, as it still obtains, do the rest? Are we wise in taking much of our drama today secondhand from Broadway? Are we faithful to the good tradition when we stage drama composed, not only outside our schools, but even outside our Christian tradition? Have we a lesson to learn, perhaps a reproach to endure, from the success of Broadway's occasional excursions into something nobler than pagan or merely neutral drama? Have we—unconsciously of course—allowed the pagan gentleman to usurp the place of the Christian as our ideal?

## The Society of Jesus in America; 1566-1940

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THE INITIAL contact of the Society of Jesus with the territory which is now the United States was made when the Society was only twenty-six years old. In 1540 it started on its career; in the September of 1566 one of its sons, Pedro Martinez, having set foot on an island off the Georgia coast, perished on the mainland a few days later at the hands of Indians. The earliest acquaintance of the sons of Loyola with this land of ours was marked by the glory of a martyrdom.

Five years later, 1571, Martinez was followed on his trail of blood by John Baptist Segura and his six companions, Jesuits all, who in the year named were massacred in their mission of Axacan, probably on the banks of the Rappahannock, not so many miles distant from the site of Washington. The roll call of the thousands of Jesuits who have labored on American soil opens with the names of these valiant Spanish pioneers of the Cross who paid with their lives for the propagation of the Faith.

Forty years passed before another Jesuit, as far as the records attest, set foot within the limits of America. This was the Frenchman, Father Pierre Biard, who in 1611

said Mass on an island near the mouth of the Kennebec, the second recorded celebration of the holy rite in what is now New England. Spaniards and Frenchmen had thus led the van in the Jesuit missionary penetration of the land that has become America. The arrival of English-speaking followers of Loyola was not long delayed. They came, Father Andrew White at their head, with the gallant band of gentlemen-adventurers and common folk, who on Annunciation Day, March 25, 1634, landed on St. Clement's Isle in the Potomac, there to lay the first foundations of Maryland. Never more than the merest handful, the Maryland Jesuits of colonial days did a noble work in preserving the Faith among the scattered Catholic settlers of the future Middle Atlantic States. Whatever Catholicism there was in the thirteen colonies at the end of the Revolution was largely the outcome of their zealous labors. The Marylander and one-time Jesuit, John Carroll, was the Church's first bishop in the United States, the founder of the American hierarchy; another Marylander and erstwhile Jesuit, Leonard Neale, was Carroll's successor in the see of Baltimore.



From the first, Jesuit priests played a major role in Catholic beginnings throughout the eastern United States. They were the Church's first clergymen in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, New York and the District of Columbia. America's only canonized saints and officially declared martyrs are the three Jesuits, Isaac Jogues, and his companions, the lay coadjutors René Goupil and John de Lalande, who died for the Faith in New York State, Goupil in 1642, Jogues and de Lalande in 1646. Men of the Society of Jesus were identified with the earliest exercise of the sacred ministry in the East's big urban centers or what were to become such. Father Joseph Greacon was Philadelphia's first Catholic pastor, probably as early as 1729; Father Ferdinand Farmer founded New York City's oldest Catholic parish, St. Peter's, some time during the period 1781-1785. Father Gabriel Druillettes, at least such is the venerable tradition, offered the first Holy Sacrifice in Boston, 1650.

More so than in the East, it would appear, a glamor of adventure and romance envelops Jesuit pioneer activities in the Middle West. Here in the Great Lakes region and the upper Mississippi valley the fathers were not only missionaries, not only ministers of the Gospel; they were also explorers, discoverers, breakers of new trails, layers of economic and cultural foundations in the wilderness. They were the first school teachers, the first wheat growers in Illinois. Out of a mission founded by Marquette in 1668 grew Michigan's oldest settlement of whites, Sault-Ste-Marie. In 1673 the same illustrious Jesuit, with his partner Louis Jolliet, explored nearly the entire length of the Mississippi River, leaving behind him a journal of the adventure which is classic in the history of American exploration, having given the world its earliest knowledge of the earth's most splendid valley. With Chicago Marquette's associations are unforgettable. With Jolliet he discovered the city's site, 1673; he and his two attendant voyageurs were the first known residents on the same site, 1674-1675; he was the city's earliest clergyman, the first to say Mass and otherwise exercise the sacred ministry in Chicagoland. The story of Catholicism in the New World's second largest city begins with his name. Two decades after Marquette's passing Jesuit successors of his set up at Chicagoua, French predecessor of the modern Chicago, a Miami Indian mission, "the earliest center of civilized life to arise on the site of this metropolis," as the legend on a marker has it.

As the Spanish Southwest was distinctly Franciscanland, so the Middle West in its religious origins was Jesuitland. The Church's earliest priestly laborers resident in the regions that have since become Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, were Jesuits. The record, or much of it, of their missionary ardor and enterprise is laid up for all time in the famed Jesuit Relations. Present-day America, for all its materialism and regardless of denominational lines, reads the engrossing record with admiring interest, not to say fascination. It is aware of the spiritual *élan* that carried these soldiers of the Cross into the trackless West to consecrate by their presence its lakes and rivers, its prairies and city sites, and to lend a note of undying idealism to the entire story of western beginnings.

Passing from the colonial to the post-colonial chapter of the Jesuit story in the United States, we learn of

accomplishments more prosaic, perhaps, but also of broader reach, of wider significance. Schools, and these of the higher grades, rather than mission posts in the wilderness, whether on behalf of Indians or whites, become the typical centers around which the story gathers. Georgetown, Fordham, Holy Cross, Loyola (Baltimore), and St. Joseph's (Philadelphia) have been so many tokens of the contribution made by the Society of Jesus in the eastern states to the educational life of the country. Later, Spring Hill and Loyola, New Orleans, were to represent Jesuit education in the South, while Santa Clara, the University of San Francisco, and Gonzaga were to do the same for the Pacific slope.

In its initial concern for the Indians before the whites, one nineteenth-century movement recalls the picturesque missionary zeal of the seventeenth-century Jesuit apostles of New France. In 1823 a group of Jesuit novices, led by Father Charles Felix Van Quickenborne, trekked from White Marsh in Maryland to Missouri, having planned to work for the Indians in the vast reaches of prairie and plain that spread westward from the Mississippi. Mission centers were eventually opened by them among the Kickapoo (1836), the Potawatomi (1838), the Osage (1847). Most notable of all the missionary ventures thus undertaken from St. Louis as headquarters of the midwestern Jesuits were those of the Rocky Mountain region, founder and indefatigable promoter of which was Father Peter De Smet, the first priest known to have penetrated Wyoming, Idaho and Montana, which he did in 1840. From the Rocky Mountain missions stemmed the Jesuit mission of California (1849), its organizers, Fathers Accolti and Nobili, its first duly established house, Santa Clara College (1851). But the Jesuit group which had exchanged Maryland for Missouri did more than cultivate the Indian mission field. By the logic of circumstances education became the chief field of their endeavors. Originated and still maintained by the Society of Jesus in Mid-America are St. Louis University, Xavier University (Cincinnati), Loyola University (Chicago), University of Detroit, Creighton University, Marquette University and Rockhurst College. The roster of institutions opened by other Jesuit groups than the St. Louis one includes, in addition to those already mentioned, Canisius College (Buffalo), Regis (Denver) and Campion (Prairie du Chien). Today an impressive network of Jesuit high schools, thirty-four, and colleges and universities, twenty-four, is drawn across the country.

One thing that may impress the reader of the foregoing data is the circumstance that the history of the Society of Jesus in the United States is virtually coterminous with the history of the Society itself. For three hundred and seventy-four years, with gaps of quiescence here and there, it has energized on the American stage in all the varied activities to which its men, within the purview of their rule, may legitimately devote themselves. What has been achieved thereby over all these years *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, fondly cherished ultimate objective of the Society of Jesus, is for the recording angel to determine. In any case, the American Jesuits of today feel that the record of accomplishment left behind by their predecessors of the Society of Jesus in these United States is not without an encouraging measure of inspiration and appeal.



# Jesuit Dantists: 1540-1940

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IF THE first fifty years of the history of the Society of Jesus seem barren, even in Italy, of any interest in Dante, that must be interpreted less as a reproach to the Jesuits than as a sign of the times. Whatever else of a flattering kind we may say of the "Renaissance" of classical taste in the sixteenth century the general movement tended to be disastrous to national literature. After the flood of slavish copying had past, there was little to show, at least in Italy, but the literary debris of *Mari-nismo*. The *Divina Commedia* was looked upon as hardly better than a tasteless mass of Gothic crudities. In the third quarter of the sixteenth century, you will look in vain for any serious study of Dante outside of Tuscany; and even there, you meet only such second-rate critics or commentators as Vellutello and Daniello of Lucca.

The only genuinely personal, not to say passionate, love for Dante in the last decade of the sixteenth century turns up—of all places in the world—in the back of a book of theology, in an appendix to the *Controversiae* of St. Robert Bellarmine.

And thereby hangs a tale. In spite of what I have written above, and in spite of a great deal more that has been said by others of the excessive Jesuit attention to mere *eloquentia*, the fact is that a product of sixteenth-century Jesuit education like Robert Bellarmine seems able to have combined a formal perfection in Latin letters with a personal affection for national literature. He had learned and loved Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio astonishingly well; so well that, at the age of fifty-three and in the midst of the busiest administrative days of his life as a Jesuit provincial, he could sit down and dash off, *con intelletto d'amore*, a striking defense of all three against a silly but insinuating attack by a French Calvinist. Anyone who is unable to read the *apologia* itself should turn to a short account of the whole matter in Father Brodrick's *Life and Work of Blessed Robert Francis Cardinal Bellarmine, S. J.* One passage in this account may be cited here:

"As a boy, he had been enthralled by the great poem of him [Virgil] who symbolized for Dante the perfection of human reason, and was Dante's laurel-crowned guide through the *Inferno*. The two great learned loyalties of his life were to Aristotle and St. Thomas, and of them the *Divina Commedia* is all compact. Finally, the qualities which Tuscan Dante loved best and oftenest ascribed to his Beatrice, *si bella e ridente*, are exactly those which made Tuscan Bellarmine the idol of his acquaintances—courtesy, candour, kindness, humility, modesty, loyalty and gentleness. It is not surprising, then, that he should have been attracted by the *Divina Commedia* and have studied the best commentaries available and become as familiar with its contents as he was with the books of the Bible" (Vol. II, p. 367).

The particular points which St. Robert debates are, today, of no special significance; but it is permanently significant that, on the very eve of *Seicentismo*, a Jesuit saint and Doctor of the Church could love the poetry of

Dante without either recklessly anticipating his canonization or needlessly doubting his orthodoxy.

And then the literary waste-land of the Italian seventeenth century! The penalty for all that "Renaissance" pedantry and idolatry of two dead tongues had to be paid; and Italian literature was, in fact, only saved from sterility because Galileo, with his passionate love for science, and the two Jesuits, Pallavicino and Bartoli, with their no less passionate love for religion, had something to say and said it in their mother tongue.

It was Gioberti, no friend of the Jesuits, who said (speaking of the seventeenth century): "The resurrection of Dante was a *sine qua non* for the resurgence of Italian thought and genius." What Gioberti was not likely to add was that it was a Jesuit who, in a practical way, brought about this resurrection. In the hundred years from 1600 to 1700 there had been a bare five editions of Dante in Italy. It was not till 1732 that a clear, simple, concise Commentary on the *Divina Commedia* was able to make its way into Italian schools.

It is easy (and for a time it was fashionable) to make fun of certain passages in the *Commento* of Padre Pompeo Venturi, S. J. (1693-1752). But a good Catholic who found himself stepping into the "Age of Reason" with a name like Pompeo, a last thread in the rags and tatters of the pagan "Renaissance," may well be pardoned for the fears he had lest certain lines of Dante might (in those days) fill unformed minds with false ideas about reverence for the pope. But the fact is that the Jesuit's Commentary went through thirteen editions; and more than any other single work in the middle of the eighteenth century helped to fulfill Gioberti's condition for the "resurgence of Italian thought and genius." It was, later (and I think rightly), replaced by the commentary of the Franciscan Lombardi; but not before it had done its pioneer work for nearly sixty years. Since Lombardi there have been many and very celebrated clerical commentators of Dante: the Oratorian Antonio Cesari, the Somaschan Giambattista Giuliani, the diocesan priest Poletti and, in our own day, the Scolopian Luigi Pietrobono and the Jesuit Giovanni Busnelli; but it is no small merit of Pompeo Venturi that he leads this procession.

What Venturi was to the "Age of Reason," Francesco Berardinelli, S. J. (1816-1893) was to the Age of Italian Freemasonry. As things now are, it is unpleasant to recall that there was a time when the Italian Government paid for a professor in Rome to teach publicly that Dante was masonic and heretical. We still have the letter in which Carducci indignantly refused the bribe that was offered to induce him to accept the chair. Whether or not it was due to the masonic preoccupation with signs and symbols, the fact is that in the middle of the nineteenth century the *Divina Commedia* was being daily torn and twisted into an allegorical anti-Catholic manifesto. It was in 1859 that Padre Berardinelli brought out a very remarkable work, *Il Concetto della Divina Commedia*, the central demonstration of which was that the very core of



the *Commedia* is the religious allegory of supernatural regeneration. It is a work that has influenced, in some way, every subsequent treatment of the symbolical interpretation of the *Divina Commedia*.

In some ways more important than this work was Padre Berardinelli's influence in giving to the *Civiltà Cattolica* a permanent interest in Dante criticism. From 1860 to the storming of the Porta Pia, Berardinelli remained in Rome on the staff of the *Civiltà Cattolica*. When the publication of the review had to be removed to Florence, Berardinelli assumed the position of editor-in-chief. On its return to Rome in 1887 and until his death in 1893, he continued his literary work. It was he who, without any doubt, inspired his younger colleague on the *Civiltà*, Giovanni Maria Cornoldi, S. J. (1822-1892), to apply some of his extraordinary grasp of scholastic philosophy and theology to the interpretation of the works of Dante. The result was *La Filosofia scolastica di S. Tommaso e di Dante*, which Cornoldi published in 1889. Cornoldi was at the time a man of sixty-seven, in the full maturity of his Thomistic interest, and he was able to give to the interpretation of Dante a Scholastic character which, happily, it has retained ever since. Like Venturi and Berardinelli, Cornoldi was a pioneer. There was not, as he says in the preface to his work, at that time, a single commentary in existence that brought into sufficient relief the definitely Scholastic texture of Dante's work. Cornoldi's work, of course, needs to be supplemented on the purely literary and also on the historical side; but his fundamental view of Dante is completely sound: "As St. Thomas is the supreme philosopher, so is Alighieri the supreme poet of our fatherland."

A second Jesuit philosopher-theologian, less Thomistic than Cornoldi but no less erudite and acute, has left an equally precious work, a Commentary on the *Commedia*, which appeared two years before the work of Cornoldi. Domenico Palmieri, S. J. (1829-1909), taught philosophy for seven years and theology for eleven years at the Gregorian University in Rome. He was then moved to the Jesuit House of Studies in Holland, where he taught biblical exegesis for sixteen years. It was during this period that his aging mother complained (as he tells us delightfully and pathetically in his preface) that she had received work after work in Latin but never a book she could read. Why wouldn't her boy write a book about Dante? And so three fair-sized volumes appeared to satisfy a mother's heart. It is a substantial, plain-spoken commentary that is never within measurable distance of making of Dante either a saint or a Doctor of the Church. On the other hand, Palmieri makes it luminously obvious that Dante was definitely, in his own right, both a philosopher and a theologian.

In this quatercentennial year, the Jesuit tradition of interest in Dante is worthily represented by still another writer on the staff of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, Giovanni Busnelli, S. J., who ranks with Michele Barbi as one of the most accomplished Dante scholars in the world. Padre Busnelli had the distinction of producing the first two volumes in the new ten-volume critical commentary on the works of Dante, projected by Michele Barbi. In 1934 appeared the first volume of the *Convivio*, a work

of nearly 500 pages, to be followed in 1937 by the second volume, a work of equal magnitude. "I had not the least hesitation," says Barbi, in a preface to the work, "in selecting a Dantist who could be trusted with a doctrinal commentary, so clearly had the publications of Padre Giovanni Busnelli shown him fit for this difficult task." I have elsewhere (*Gregorianum*, 1935) indicated the very extraordinary knowledge of medieval philosophy, particularly that of St. Thomas, which Padre Busnelli reveals in this work. Suffice it to say here that the work is the outcome of over forty years spent on the study of both St. Thomas and Dante, and that in the course of those forty years Padre Busnelli has produced many works, large and small, that are the indispensable tools of all of us lesser Dantists.

### Editorials (Continued)

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two decades which preceded the formal launching of his new militia of Christ. From the beginning, certain features of Jesuit life called forth opposition. The name was looked upon as presumptuous; the absence of a religious habit or uniform and the omission of liturgical choir obligations aroused strong criticism. Later more serious attacks came from the side of both Catholics and Protestants.

In Spain, Melchior Cano, a Dominican of European prestige, threw the full weight of his violent eloquence against the young Society, and was eloquently answered by another Dominican, Fray Juan de la Peña. In Germany, the Society was hated by Lutherans who had never seen a Jesuit. They wrote their outlandish stories, full of nonsensical details and saturated with vituperation, in a spirit of panic. The Jesuits were the legion of Antichrist counterattacking the positions held by the Reformation. And oddly enough, it was the little Catechism of Peter Canisius which was singled out for the most vulgar abuse. In France, the Gallican *Parlement*, the Gallican University and the Gallican Bishop of Paris joined in the defense of their privileges against the new order which relied upon papal approval and presumed to work primarily in the interests of Rome. In England the government took severe measures to meet the advance of the popish emissaries. In all these lands, and in every land, the Jesuits had enemies.

If we seek a cause or causes to explain the fact, we can rule out at once the defects and mistakes of the Jesuits themselves. In their zeal and in their success they were, no doubt, ambitious, and some of them may have appeared arrogant. The capital reason for all the fury was their loyalty to the popes and the Church. In Germany they broke the advancing wave of Protestantism; in France they threatened the vested interests of anti-papal powers. It was in the nature of things that they should have to meet opposition, and it is a debatable thesis that precisely the most saintly among them were the most hated.

#### *Panic in Paris*

Back in 1843 two celebrities of the Collège de France, Jules Michelet and Edgar Quinet, offered courses on "Ultramontanism and the Jesuits." The educational monopoly of the University of Paris was in danger, and

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# The Suppression of the Jesuits

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THE Society of Jesus was driven from Portugal in 1759, from France in 1764, from Spain in 1767, from Parma and Naples in 1768. With this series of expulsions went the destruction of flourishing missions in the vast colonial empires of Spain and Portugal. But this was not all. The vindictive brutality of the Bourbon henchmen applied diplomatic pressure to a distraught Clement XIV, and forced the suppression of the Jesuits throughout the world in 1773. Except for a tolerated remnant in the dominions of Frederick the Great and of Catherine the Great twenty-two thousand religious were left without a corporate existence. For the most part, they continued to labor as secular priests, some two score of them becoming bishops. In 1814, after the tempest of the French Revolution, came the glorious resurrection. The bull, *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*, of Pius VII undid the brief,<sup>1</sup> *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, of Clement XIV, and the New Society, robbed indeed of its property and reduced to a straggling few veterans, took up the Constitution, the traditions and the spirit of the Old. Pius XI has called the attack upon the Society "a conspiracy against God and the Church, and consequently, *gloriosa conseguenza*, against the Society of Jesus." For Pius XI (and for all the great popes of recent times) it was a "sad page of history, *pagina dolorosa di storia*."<sup>2</sup>

Formally and officially the suppression was effected by the Holy See. But two facts stand out clearly in the light of historical research. The pope did not act on his own initiative; and the document to which he was virtually forced to affix his signature was inspired and to a large extent drafted by the sworn enemies of the Society. The strained situation leading to the final break is revealed in the abundant correspondence of Bourbon ambassadors and ministers. Reversing the chronological order, it will be well to start with an analysis of the *Dominus ac Redemptor*, catch a glimpse of its authors at work, and then try to see the whole in its larger setting.

The brief was a disciplinary decree. In it the pope appears not as a judge handing down a decision after a judicial process. Rather, he is the supreme executive exercising his prerogative in order to prevent "greater evils." The brief is in its whole tenor a peace offering made to a gang of international thugs in high places. Expressly, the pope states his purpose. He is determined to labor for "the peace and tranquility of the Christian commonwealth." A laudable purpose surely, but in the circumstances one cannot but note the contrast between the worn-out, lamb-like victim of antipapal Catholic courts and the strong, aggressive pope who, in 1540, gave expression to the rising vitality of the Church in the opening words of the papal confirmation of the Society, the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*. In 1540, the Church in

the face of a catastrophic religious upheaval was a fighting church; in 1773, on the eve of the French Revolution, her leaders, or let us say her leader, adopted a policy of peace at any price.

The brief falls logically into two parts. The longer first part is a statement of the case. The pope is responsible for the peace of the Church, and he has the power, warranted by a number of precedents, to suppress a religious order. The Society of Jesus, the brief continues, had been founded for a holy purpose, and a long line of popes had lavished favors upon it. But almost from the beginning discord and dissension had marked its path. It had disturbed the peace of the Christian world. The gravest "charges" had been brought against it. The efforts of many popes to find a remedy for the evils brought upon the Church by the Society had been futile. Finally, nothing was left for the "pious" kings of France, Spain, Portugal and the Two Sicilies to do but to drive the Jesuits from their lands.

The second and somewhat shorter half of the brief contains the decree proper, and provides for its full execution. Since everything connected with the Society, its Constitutions, its privileges and exemptions, its doctrines, its schools and its missions, was a source of trouble and, moreover, since the Society no longer produced the rich fruits of its early apostolate and since, once again, the Society was an obstacle to "true and lasting peace" the pope had to suppress it. "*Ex certa scientia et plenitudine potestatis apostolicae saepedictam societatem extinguimus et supprimimus.*"

If Clement XIV had been a free agent capable of calm decision, and if the *Dominus ac Redemptor* had been drafted in the papal curia without interference from outside, it would still be a weak proof of Jesuit misdeeds. But Clement XIV was the pitiable object of threats, blackmail, diplomatic pressure and moral coercion<sup>3</sup> proceeding from an unholy alliance of Absolutist, Rationalist, Gallican ministers who wielded practically all the political power then in "Catholic" hands. We pass over the still dark question of the pre-election commitments of Lorenzo Ganganelli. At least, the conspirators thought they had in him a pliable tool for their work.<sup>4</sup> He was a weak man who wanted to be pope. Yet it is very much to his credit that for four long years he kept the wolves at bay. When, on July 21, 1773, he issued the brief he was yielding to deception and superior force.

The tragedy may be regarded as a chapter in the relations of state and church, as an attack of the upstart, domineering secular power against the declining spiritual

<sup>3</sup> See Max Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche* (Paderborn, 1934), 193. For abundant revelations from the Paris Archives des affaires étrangères see Jean Guiraud, *Histoire partielle, histoire vrai*, IV, 346-401.

<sup>4</sup> See Guiraud, *ibid.*, 395. Guiraud seems to hold two opinions. Ganganelli received the necessary votes of the Bourbon faction only after signing an engagement to suppress the Society. On pages 367-368 he questions this. In any case the Bourbon party excluded 26 of the 45 cardinals under threat of schism. They admitted but five *papabili*. Most authors are content with charging Ganganelli with the assertion that "the pope could suppress the Jesuits," which is quite evident.

<sup>1</sup> See *Bullarium Romanum*, editio Taurinensis (1857), 303 ff. and *Continuation* (Rome, 1841), IV, 607 ff. Both bull and brief are printed in Carl Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papstums und des römischen Katholicismus* (Tübingen, 1924), 272-276 and 404-411.

<sup>2</sup> Allocution of February 19, 1933. Quoted in John Macerlain, "Clement XIV and the Suppression of the Jesuits," *Studies*, XXII (1933), 480-493.



power. In Paris, Naples and Madrid sat three determined ministers; in Rome they were served by able ambassadors. More than this, they could buy the services of churchmen close to the pope. Most important they all worked together in diabolic harmony. Against them stood a pope who was isolated, by his own choice apparently, from the majority of the cardinals who should have been his natural support. The struggle was one of unrelenting attrition, slowly wearing down the resistance of the pope. If he had been a strong man, if he had sought the counsel of the cardinals, if the governments had been less determined, if they had been served less ably, if they had not been aided by bribed traitors within the narrow circle around the pope,<sup>5</sup> there would have been no such tragic outcome.

In this whole affair Clement XIV played a sad role. Nothing reveals this more clearly than the preparation of the brief, *Dominus ac Redemptor*. Not the pope or his secretaries, but the Bourbon governments determined its content. They furnished the arguments and the writers who put the arguments into their final form. In their contempt for the Holy Father they undertook to dictate the formula to be used, and from the beginning, four years before the suppression, they insisted that the pope submit the brief to their revision before publication.<sup>6</sup> Indeed Clement was so scared that he dared not make a single substantial alteration in the draft finally drawn up for him by Monino the Spanish ambassador, nor assemble a Consistory to discuss it, nor even permit the Camera Apostolica to prepare it for the public in the usual way. Clement died a pious death a year later.<sup>7</sup> He had suffered much; and we have no quarrel with those who would defend his memory. Our only contention is that nothing in the long catalog of Jesuit sins enumerated in the brief explains their suppression. The driving force was the mysterious hatred that animated "Enlightened" ministers and their henchmen.<sup>8</sup> And before the *mysterium iniquitatis* the mere historian may confess himself puzzled.

<sup>5</sup> Macerlain, *loc. cit.*, 489, quoting Pastor, says that Padre Bontempi, the pope's confessor, was promised 40000 scudi. More to the point, cf. letters from Spanish and Roman archives in which Monino demands and Bontempi acknowledges an annual pension of 1500 scudi for his services. The letters are printed in Guglielmo Kratz e Pietro Leturia, *Intorno al "Clemente XIV"* del Barone von Pastor, 54-60.

<sup>6</sup> Guiraud, *op. cit.*, chapter IX, *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> Clement XIV died Sept. 21/22 in the arms of St. Paul of the Cross. Cf. Andreas Veit, *Die Kirche im Zeitalter des Individualismus*, 243. Veit is very favorable to Clement, and decidedly anti-Jesuit.

<sup>8</sup> Jean Guiraud devotes the whole of volume IV of his *Histoire partielle, histoire vraie* (Paris, 1923) to the suppression of the Jesuits. The Besançon professor, who was also editor of the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, has this startling statement, (p. 265) emphasized by italics: "It is a fact which even Catholic historians have not sufficiently brought to light and which others have systematically covered up, that the principal cause of the suppression of the Company of Jesus in France and in Europe, in the eighteenth century, was the hatred of Mme. de Pompadour. If the Jesuits had sanctioned and supported her intrigues to remain at Court, their enemies would never have beaten them; Jansenists, Philosophes and Gallicans became all-powerful against them only when they had the open support of Mme. de Pompadour and her creature Choiseul. This is a title of honor for the Society of Jesus with Catholics and with every man who has a regard for the moral law and the sanctity of marriage; and it is the best answer the Jesuits can give to those who accuse them of laxity in their moral teaching and in the direction of consciences." Cf. also Leo A. Hogue, "Madame de Pompadour and the Jesuits," in THE HISTORICAL BULLETIN, XI (Nov., 1932, Jan., 1933), 10-12 and 30-32, an interesting survey of the hatred engendered by fidelity on the part of royal confessors.

But why were the Jesuits so hated? Francis X. Talbot, in the latest printing of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, lists the following "causes" of the suppression:

- (1) The power of the Society within the Church and at the Catholic Courts aroused enmity. Royal confessors were usually Jesuits, and some of them were charged with exercising undue influence in political affairs;
- (2) The Society was the strongest bulwark of Ultramontane teaching in Catholic Europe;
- (3) Friction with the Sorbonne and other universities was frequent;
- (4) The controversies with Dominicans and Franciscans, concerning the doctrine of grace, the "Chinese Rites," etc., left a legacy of ill-feeling;
- (5) The lax teaching, on certain points, of a few Jesuit moralists was falsely attributed to the entire Order;
- (6) Pascal and the Jansenists distrusted and hated the Society;
- (7) Above all, after 1750, deistic "philosophy" largely dominated the educated and ruling classes in Catholic Europe. Voltaire and the Encyclopedists united with the Jansenists and the statesmen of "enlightened despotism" to crush the Jesuits.<sup>9</sup>

This summary covers the ground better than most attempts, hostile or friendly, to explain the suppression. The problem is a rather complex one, involving as it does the Jesuits themselves with their essential character as well as their accidental relations to the world about them, involving also the comparatively healthy state of the Order and the fundamentally diseased era of the Enlightenment, involving finally the diverse motives of enemies within the Church and outside of it. There is usually a reason, tangible or intangible, culpable or not, for hatred, envy or mere dislike. In this case the reader will distinguish real causes from fabricated charges, unwholesome general conditions, accidental circumstances and mere pretexts.

The rest must be compressed into a single paragraph.\* Myopic historians tell us the Jesuits were enemies of culture and progress, out of step with the spirit of the age; that they had turned from former high ideals, failed in their work, and deserved their fate!<sup>10</sup> The truth is, they were still an élite militia, still healthy in a diseased social order. Less faithful to their Institute, they would have been hated less by libertines, cynics and autocrats. If a biased minority of "Intellectuals" rejoiced at their fall, most good men felt the loss to religion. Even Clement XIV had kind words for them in 1769.<sup>11</sup> St. Alphonsus Liguori, best qualified witness of the period, saw through the "plot of Jansenists and infidels."<sup>12</sup> The saintly General Ricci, dying in a papal prison, protested before the Blessed Sacrament that the Society was guiltless.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The *Encyclopedia Britannica*, XIII, 13. The *Britannica* has made a late reparation in allowing a Jesuit to rewrite the story of the Society.

\* Best single volume on the Suppression is Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, XVI, Zweite Abteilung; best discussion in English is Sidney F. Smith, nineteen articles in *Month* (London), 1902-1903.

<sup>10</sup> See Ludwig Koch, *Jesuiten-Lexikon* (Paderborn, 1904), 121-129. Note especially quotations from B. H. Boehmer, *Die Jesuiten* (1921).

<sup>11</sup> *Litterae Apostolicae* (Florence, 1886), 312, as quoted in Bernhard Duhr, *Jesuiten-Fabeln* (Freiburg im B., 1892), 333.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in John Macerlain, *loc. cit.*, 493. See, however, Duhr, *op. cit.*, 334n, who cites the Saint: "perchè un poco di superbia ci può distruggere, come ha distrutti i Gesuiti," and balances this ascetical warning with references to a dozen laudatory passages in the same *Litterae*.

<sup>13</sup> "... the Society has given no cause for its suppression. This I declare and protest with the moral certainty a well-informed superior can have as to the condition of his subjects. Secondly, I declare and protest that I have not given the least cause for my own imprisonment." See Bernhard Duhr, "Lorenzo Ricci," *Stimmen der Zeit*, 114 (November, 1927), 81-92.



## Editorials (Continued)

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the purpose of the courses was to create a diversion. Michelet especially built his lectures on the *Monita Secreta*, a palpable forgery of a renegade Jesuit of the early seventeenth century. He also distorted and denatured the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions* of the Society. But whatever the pretense of scientific history, both of these literary historians worked upon the passions of the student mob. The agitation was too successful. The yellow press joined the ramp. Eugène Sue with a style that smelt of the gutter was handsomely paid to write his "Jesuit novel," the *Juif errant*. Statesmen began to see danger, and sensible people were glad to welcome Père Ravignan's masterly defense of the Society.

In all this the University of Paris was running true to traditional form. Three hundred years earlier it had been petty and mean in its opposition to the Jesuits. In 1552, in 1564 and in 1594, it threw its stagnant weight against its young rival in the field of education. When the Jesuits were only a handful it conspired with other Gallican forces to block their entry into France. As their influence and power increased its attack became more and more frenzied. In 1552 its grievances were nothing more than expressions of an anti-papal attitude. When in 1594 Antoine Arnauld delivered his historic tirade against the iniquities of the Society he was still a Gallican, but a Gallican in a rage with a wild imagination and no sense of justice. Étienne Pasquier had prepared much of his material for him. Arnauld summed up the case: the Jesuits were the blind instruments of an autocrat general; they were foreigners who constituted a danger to the nation; by their ultramontane servility toward an omnipotent pope they kept the nations in a state of permanent insurrection; they were assassins and regicides; they perverted the confessional into an instrument of intrigue; they corrupted the youth in their schools systematically; they built their power on the positive teaching of immorality. In Antoine Arnauld historians have recognized the poisoned source of three centuries of accusations against the Jesuits. Blaise Pascal imparted the touch of genius to his own "immortal lies" sixty years later. Gallicans, Jansenists, Freethinkers and Atheists, autocrat ministers and royal mistresses, all combined in a sad hour for the Church to crush the Jesuits. The Society of Jesus is honored in the enemies it has had.

*Imago Primi Saeculi*

Three hundred years ago, in 1640, the Society of Jesus rounded out its first century. The usual jubilee thoughts called for expression. But then as now the spirit seems to have been slow in warming for action. A bare six months before the dawn of the year 1640 a huge volume was planned to commemorate the Centennial. In an incredibly short time the book had to be written, edited, printed and published. And so we have the *Imago Primi Saeculi Societis Jesu*, a folio tome of nearly a thousand pages which makes extremely interesting reading at the present time.

The work was not intended to serve as a complete critical history. Yet it was edited by John Bollandus, a man whose name stands high in any history of critical historiography. It has been called bombastic by readers

who have skimmed through its pages and missed the purpose behind its publication. After all, there are times when panegyric is very much in place. The *Imago* is, and was meant to be, a panegyric. There was much to thank God for in those hundred years of expansion, conquest, suffering. A Jesuit could remain humble, and still feel a thrill of exultation. The obvious triumphs of the Society needed no rhetorical embellishment nor coloring from personal vanity. In more sombre moments we have found the *Imago* altogether too lyrical. But that was because we were trying to measure it by the standards of sober history. Historical value it unquestionably has, though it may be a reflection of what the Jesuits thought of themselves in 1640 rather than a photographic account of the first hundred years. It is a work of art, and whatever its subjective features, it does possess the truth of a portrait.

In six "books" the origin, growth, activity, suffering and triumph of the Society are treated. In each book, a narrative dissertation, slightly dithyrambic perhaps, is followed by oratorical addresses which are frankly panegyric. To this are added pages and pages of verse, in which poetic license excuses the greater freedom of exaggeration. To aid the reader's imagination numerous symbolical drawings portray the artist's conception of the trials, services and glories of the Society. A smoothly flowing Latin, rich in scriptural, patristic and classical allusions, is interspersed now and then with an ode in Greek or Hebrew. All in all, the *Imago* is a monument to the literary Humanism of the age.

Interesting certainly, and we hope not altogether presumptuous, is the parallel between the earthly course of the Society of Jesus and that of its Divine Captain which is maintained through the whole of the *Imago*. Jesus Christ had been born in obscurity in Bethlehem; had "advanced in wisdom, age and grace before God and men"; had begun "to do and to teach"; had suffered, leaving an example that we "might follow his footsteps"; had "humbled himself, . . . for which cause God had exalted him." The Society, too, born in the poverty and humiliations of Manresa, had expanded its growing strength to the ends of the earth; had displayed a prodigious activity, in intensity and wide extent hitherto unparalleled; had seen its members mocked, spat upon and done to death among heretics and infidels; was marvelously successful in its teaching, preaching and missionary labors; was honored by the flattering praise of good men. *Societas, nascens, crescens, agens, patiens, honorata*: this was a sequence dear to the soldiers of Christ; but the section of the *Imago* that reveals the deepest feeling is that devoted to the martyrs who shed their blood for their King.

## Blackrobes (Continued)

(Continued from page fifty-four)

concept justified. We do not, however, mean to contend that the two or three points to be discussed below were exclusively Jesuit. They were not. Still they do give something of a sameness to Black Robe enterprise. The observer looks at Brazil, at Paraguay, at New Spain, at New France, and, acquainted with one Jesuit mission frontier, he does not have great difficulty in recognizing another of the same stamp.



Contributing to this striking similarity was, no doubt, the particularly close-knit organization of the Society. Jesuit headquarters at Rome was not only the fountain-head of authority but it seems to have been a clearing-house of missionary information and experience as well. The system of periodic visitors, sent by and reporting to the Father General, and the Annual Letters kept Rome well posted on progress, methods, and practices of the various overseas provinces. All of this was in turn communicated to interested parties. For example, anyone well acquainted with the *Jesuit Relations* of the French will recall more than one passage in which the missionaries of the north show themselves accurately informed especially on the work of their Paraguayan brethren. Such pooling of the results of trial and error is bound to make for efficiency.

One point which is typical of the Black Robe, though by no means peculiar to him, is the language approach. Instead of beginning mission work with the attempt to teach the American a foreign tongue, the Jesuits consistently reversed the process and themselves learned the native language. Very early this became a fixed and inviolable practice, so much so that there are cases on record, for New Spain, where scholastics had completed their seminary studies and yet were denied priestly ordination until they could show proficiency in at least one Indian dialect. It had become a rule in the province that no one could be raised to Orders without this necessary missionary equipment. And Jesuits who came to the Americas as priests were expected to supply their deficiency immediately. What it cost some of them can be gathered from the story of P. Paul Le Jeune's experience during his winter among the Montagnais. For their efforts in this matter the Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits received in general the highest commendation from colonial officials. The French Jesuits, on the other hand, received a corresponding amount of criticism and misunderstanding, for the ideal of "frenchification" was very strong in those colonies. But, whether praise or abuse was their lot, the Jesuits, within the bounds of the obedience due the temporal power, stuck tenaciously to the practice. It is not impossible that much of the success which met their efforts was due thereto.

Another key policy of the Jesuit system—and in this they were much more alone—was insistence on the isolation of the Indians from constant contact with the whites, until such time as their charges were strong enough morally to resist the contamination of bad example. Apache, Iroquois, Chichimeco, Jivaro was an enemy to be feared, but the damage which he could do was slight in comparison with that greater hurt which the loose lives of "Christian" Europeans could and did work in Indian hearts, so lately weaned from heathen lusts and loves and so painfully formed to Christian ways. Many a missionary was more than once hard put to it to explain the discrepancy between his doctrine and the white man's lives. Native American simplicity did not include blindness.

Isolation served another purpose. It protected the Indian from the ruthless exploitation of the whites, and incidentally from complete extermination. And right here is the fundamental concept basic to an understanding of the almost continual disputes in which the missionaries were

involved with the settlers. From the very beginning the Jesuits took their part in the fight to shield the natives—in Portuguese America against the sugar planters, in Spanish America against the miners, in French America against the brandy peddlers. What the Black Robes had to suffer for their consistency is one of their greatest glories and on the reverse side one of the most unsavory aspects of the colonial story. Nor is it at all improbable—though this is still an unexplored field—that certain events in the Americas between 1758 and 1767 had a close connection with this aspect of the Jesuit system.

These two policies found their most suitable realization in the "reduction."<sup>14</sup> The "reduction" was scarcely a Jesuit idea in origin. However, they adopted it early and, possibly to a greater degree than any of their fellow apostles, made it work. Portuguese Jesuits, so it would seem, taught it to their Spanish brothers who founded the famous Reductions of Paraguay. On Mexico's Western Slope the idea was used with marked success, and in Baja California the Jesuits of New Spain came closest to duplicating, in external circumstance at least, the conditions which made for Paraguayan success. Huronia was the French Jesuits' proof that they were sons of the same tradition. Their task, apart from Iroquois interference, was made doubly difficult by reason of the hunter culture of their Indians, which was less easily adapted to the requirements of the system, an important element of which was an agricultural economy.

The Jesuit mission story is much too vast to be contained even in sketchiest of outline within so limited a compass as this. Nothing has been said of the Jesuits as agents of civilization, as frontiersmen preparing for white occupation, as contact-men, political and economic. Such considerations and more would have to enter into a complete understanding of Jesuit contributions. For the mission was much more than a rural parish. It was in every part of the Americas a colonial institution, whose value will be learned only as it is studied more thoroughly under that aspect. In the light of such researches what are now little better than the intuitions of historians, regarding the work of the Black Robes, may very possibly prove fully justified. Of one thing we are reasonably certain, namely that the Jesuits do not stand to lose in the application of this new approach.

<sup>14</sup> A short account of the "reduction system," as found in Paraguay is Huonder, Anton, S. J., "The Reductions of Paraguay," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XII.

## University Education (Continued)

(Continued from page fifty-two)

One thing stands out clearly in the educational picture during practically the whole Renaissance period. There was slight articulation—to use modern educational jargon—between the preparatory or secondary school and the university. The better type of Renaissance school, La Casa Giocosa of da Feltre and some of the schools of the Brethren of the Common Life, taught not merely grammar and rhetoric, but invaded the university domain and included philosophy in their curriculum. Other schools with less competent teachers were little concerned with *enkuklios paideia*; they only wanted to equip the students with a modicum of what might be called "business Latin" that would admit them to the university. And the



more conservative professors in the universities cared little whether the students admitted to the *facultas artistica* had mastered the *artes triviales* that should precede dialectic.

Now here can be seen the conscious Jesuit influence on the pattern of higher education. The Jesuits in their universities did not change the curriculum of the course of Arts; the three year curriculum embraced Logic, Aristotle's *Physica*, and *Metaphysica*. The Jesuits did not dethrone philosophy from its place of eminence in the *facultas artistica*. But consistently and tenaciously they insisted that no student should be admitted to university study who had not completed his training in grammar and rhetoric. "None of our students shall pass on to philosophy until he has spent two years in rhetoric."<sup>12</sup> All universities under the care of the Jesuits insisted on this rule. A graded education in the liberal arts, the *enkuklios paideia* of the ancients, was at last realized, not in an isolated instance or for a limited period of time, but in all their schools and universities throughout their history. As d'Irsay remarks:<sup>13</sup> "Ils [the Jesuits] ne perdirent pas des yeux ce principe: préserver la continuité entre l'enseignement moyen et études supérieures et sauvegarder les résultats de l'érudition humaniste." This may be said to be the Jesuit contribution to the theory and practice of liberal education: the restoration of the liberal arts to their rightful place in the educational program.

If there were space, it would be interesting to examine other facets of Jesuit university practice in which they differed from their contemporaries. For example, the insistence of the Jesuit university that its authority to teach and grant degrees came from the Pope, and not from the Prince. In its origins, the medieval university was a papal institution, independent to a large extent of princes temporal and local princes spiritual. Because it was a *studium generale* drawing students from all nations, it appealed to the pope for protection from irritating legislation. The prized *jus ubique docendi*, awarded its doctors and masters, came from the pope. One of the finest chapters in papal history is the dealings of the Holy See with the universities, its grant to them of privileges, its efficacious help afforded them in the perennial strife between town and gown or in the more dangerous encroachments of local ecclesiastics and princes.

In Ignatius' day, however, nationalism had crept into the university. Local rivalry between cities, national wars and jealousies had weakened the cosmopolitan characteristic of the university. This was particularly marked in Protestant countries, but Catholic centers manifested the same phenomena, notably Paris. The Jesuit universities, like the Order itself, fierce defenders of the Papacy, stood out unmistakably for the earlier concept of the university, an institution under the aegis of the Holy See, free from all dictation by the lords temporal as to what should be taught, who should teach, and who should be admitted to its halls. The whole history of the Jesuit conflict with the University of Paris is proof of this assertion. True, from the beginning Paris had combated the multiplication of *studia generalia*, but this only partly explains the opposition of the University to Jesuits teaching and granting degrees. The real reason was the unwillingness of

the Gallican doctors of the Sorbonne and their supporters in the government to have Jesuit theologians expound the Catholic theory of papal prerogatives. In a very real sense, the Jesuit university championed the cause of *Lehrfreiheit* against the unwarranted usurpation of the absolute state. In the same way, and again under the protection of the Holy See, Jesuit philosophers and theologians demonstrated the falsity of the divine right of kings, at a time when such teaching was unquestionably unpopular and frequently dangerous.

The great merit of the Jesuit educational system, of the Jesuit university in particular, was that coming into existence at a time when the conflict between the medieval spirit and the Renaissance was most tense, it nevertheless conserved through the medium of its colleges and universities what was of enduring worth in both. The men that drew up the *Ratio Studiorum* were men of the Renaissance; some of them humanists not undistinguished. It goes without saying that the Company of Jesus would reject fiercely the pagan humanist's *Weltanschauung*, with its contempt for the supernatural, its ridicule and mockery of all that the Christian world held most dear.

God loomed large in the medieval man's philosophy of life. So too in the Jesuit philosophy of education. As men of the Renaissance, they accepted the humanist ideal of eloquentia and achieved this aim magnificently through their lower schools. But they were not stampeded by the spirit of the times into placing a higher value on words than on ideas. Eloquence, the gift of expression, was a desirable objective in Jesuit schools, but it was not enough. Eloquence was useless unless the ideas back of the golden flow of words were sane and sound. Consequently after a thorough cultural and disciplinary training in grammar and the humanities in their lower schools, they insisted in their universities and colleges on training in philosophy, the science of ideas, as the coping stone in the educational edifice. It was mainly through the agency of the Jesuits that scholasticism, the finest fruit of the Western mind, was salvaged from the limbo of forgotten things. This heritage from the Middle Ages their colleges and universities not merely conserved, but systematized and developed, adding to it contributions of no small worth. The whole concept of a Christian liberal education, not merely for the clerk but for the lay youth as well, was kept alive by the Jesuits. In strikingly effective fashion they managed to fuse the spirit of the world, God's world, with the spirit of the other supra-mundane world; the pagan classics and the philosophy of Aristotle became in their capable hands heralds of Christ. Through the glimpses of truth and beauty and goodness given to the youth entrusted to their care by means of the ancient authors, they were led insensibly but no less surely to Him Who is Infinite Truth, Infinite Beauty, Infinite Goodness. As Professor Fernand Strowski of the Sorbonne in his study, *Pascal et son temps* remarks: The instrumentality which united the spirit of religion with the spirit of the world was the Company of Jesus. And the Jesuit university in combination with the Jesuit college did this in the field of education with conspicuous success.

<sup>12</sup> *Ratio Studiorum*, 1599, Reg. Prov. 18.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, 358.



## Book Reviews

**Europe From the Renaissance to Waterloo**, by Robert Ergang. New York. D. C. Heath. 1939. pp. xvii + 752 + lxxxvi. \$4.00.

Elsewhere we have commented upon Doctor Ergang's scholarship. We would not accuse him of malice. But unfortunately, on this occasion of the four hundredth anniversary of the Society of Jesus we do resent some of his decidedly unscholarly statements. When, we wonder, were the Jesuits found "successfully plotting the assassination of kings"? When did the Society turn "to banking and commercial enterprises"? In what acceptable sense did they become a "menace" to civil rulers? What will the college student, or his instructor, conclude when he reads that the Society "combined war with religion, fighting heresy with all [sic!] known weapons and striving by every [sic!] possible means to awaken religious sentiment in the Roman Church"? It is simply not true to say that the Jesuit "laid aside all individual judgment," nor does obeying "blindly" mean the absurd thing that is implied in the use of the term. If our rhetorical questions and categorical denials seem to demand a footnote reference or two, all we have to offer is a close-up view of several thousand Jesuits over a period of thirty years, and, we may add, a rather personal knowledge of official documents, standard histories and not a little archive material. Maybe, it is too much to ask that an outsider understand the Jesuits, but is it unreasonable to look for less wild statement in a survey text advertised as "the best book in its field on any standard of criticism"? Apparently, the author has balanced legend against objective fact, and split the difference. Of course, we readily admit that others have written harder things about the Jesuits. We admit, also, that Doctor Ergang's book contains much that is good on other phases of history.

R. CORRIGAN.

**The Wars of the Iroquois: a Study in Intertribal Trade Relations**, by George T. Hunt. Madison. University of Wisconsin Press. 1940. pp. 209. \$2.75.

**Frontenac and the Jesuits**, by Jean Delanglez. Chicago. Institute of Jesuit History. 1939. pp. 296. \$3.20.

For the most part, Indian relations in New France and its environs during the seventeenth century form the burden of both these studies. However, there is a wide divergence in treatment for Professor Hunt is bent on an economic interpretation of the Iroquoian wars, while Father Delanglez writes to refute the charges levelled by Frontenac and his adherents against the Jesuits in the three major encounters of the conflict between Church and State: the frenchification scheme, the brandy traffic, and the trade of the Jesuits. Both historians succeed in their purpose, and in the development of their theses they produce a wealth of documentary evidence, a penetrating knowledge of their subject, convincing argument, and readable material. The spirited and thorough vanquishment of the Jesuit critics by the implacable pen of their champion leads one to conjecture his answer to the occasional charges of Professor Hunt as, for example, when he intimates the Jesuits' confusion between prudence and duplicity, their frustration of the Huron-Iroquois Peace, and a suggestion of ulterior motives now and again. His repeated reference to the *Jesuit Relations* and the *Journal des Jésuites* testifies to his belief in the integrity of Jesuit records.

*The Wars of the Iroquois* contends that the old institutions and economies of the aborigines "had altered and disappeared completely at the electrifying touch of the white man's trade . . . and wrought social revolution a thousand miles beyond the white man's habitations, and years before he himself appeared on the scene." The exigencies of the trade and the desire to maintain themselves as the middle-men between the European and other tribes were the motivating forces in the incessant wars which filled the seventeenth century with the carnage and horrors of savage atrocity. These and not superior organization are the secret of the eventual consolidation of the Five Nations, whose geographic location was also a determining factor, and of the eventual destruction of the Hurons and the Susquehanna.

*Frontenac and the Jesuits* sharply defines the blustering, ambitious, egotistic character of "the greatest of the governors of New France." His desire of wealth and power prompted him to crush by any means those who stood in the way. From the first the Jesuits were marked men. Truly, the physical and mental suffering meted out by the savages to the missionaries of "the heroic age" were more easily endured than the vicious attacks of the official and trader class whose greed for beaver skins outweighed all other considerations. In retaliation for the Jesuits' struggle

to protect the Indian from the demoniacal ravages of the brandy trade, the accusation of self-interest was hurled at them. The use of the term *faire la traite* to indicate the barter necessary in a country based on beaver skin economy was distorted to imply the Jesuits' monopoly of trade in the Christian villages. The tittle-tattle, spying, intrigue, and backbiting of the Frontenac regime in New France form a dismal background for the heroic sufferings of the missionary martyrs of North America. The anti-Jesuit choler reflected in the writings of Hennepin, La Salle, Le Clerq, and in Margry's volumes of spurious testimony is summarily treated in the evidence assembled by Father Delanglez.

Both books are eminently worth while. They provide excellent bibliographies, complete indexes, and copious footnote references.

SR. M. PURISSIMA REILLY.

**History of the Dogma of the Trinity**, by Jules Lebreton. Tr. by Algar Thorold. Vol. I, *The Origins*. New York. Benziger. 1939. pp. xxiii + 453. \$4.50.

In the concluding chapter of this work the author writes: "We have seen how the Christian faith was born not of a speculation, but of a fact; how the greatest theologians of Christianity, St. Paul and St. John, far from having initiated this doctrinal movement, had been dominated by Someone greater than they, who had imposed Himself on their faith as well as on the general faith of the disciples; and it must be added that Jesus Christ, the Author and Object of this faith, had given it a direction contrary to all the doctrinal currents of the period."

"This last point is of supreme importance in the history of this epoch; it is sufficient to have grasped it to be able to judge of the origins of the Trinitarian dogma and to be prepared to follow its later developments."

Father Lebreton may honestly crown his work with those words of praise. They are a just evaluation of the intellectual force of the book. It would be pointless, however, at this date to speak of its scholarly excellence. But the translation ought to be praised; it is so good. Two other points impressed the reviewer. The first was the author's presentation of the manner in which the revelation of the Most Blessed Trinity was made by God.

In Cardinal Manning's phrase, "I cannot have devotion to the Trinity unless I know that there is a Trinity," is enforced the fact of the primacy of the intellect; but Cardinal Newman's distinction between 'notional' and 'real' assent reminds us that God is known in order to be loved. The author's hearty exposition of the loving kindness with which God revealed Himself, his inspiring explanation of the gospel and epistle texts leave nothing to be desired from the aspect of scientific theological work, and they add thereto an irresistible appeal to the heart and will of the reader.

The second inestimable good which the book affords is the account of the pre-Christian religious thought with reference to the dogma of the Most Blessed Trinity: the Hellenic environment and the Jewish preparation.

The most ardent devotee of complete erudition would shrink from the task of completing his appreciation of Christianity by a detailed study of the various religious notions that preceded it and are considered by some to be partial sources of it. In this volume of Father Lebreton he has a sufficient account of them in sections entitled: God and the gods, The Logos, The Spirit. Neither have most people, who would sincerely like to know the revelation which God made of Himself to the Jews, the time or ability to make such a study for themselves. Here again this book, in sections entitled: The Old Testament, Palestinian Judaism, Alexandrine Judaism, expounds not only what God revealed about Himself but also the interpretation which that revelation received from Jewish writers.

There is the book. In it the Catholic mind, *fides querens intellectum*, will find, or increase, love of Christ and of the Most Blessed Trinity. The apologetic inquirer will obtain a satisfactory grasp of the immediately pre-Christian religions of the Hellenic world.

J. E. CANTWELL.

**The British Empire Before the American Revolution—Volume IV: Zones of International Friction**, by Lawrence Henry Gipson. New York. Alfred A. Knopf. 1939. pp. xlii + 312 + xlv. \$5.00.

In this fourth volume of his extended study of the British Empire before the American Revolution Doctor Gipson takes his readers away from the better known seaboard area of North



merica and details for them the various international sparring bouts preliminary to the great struggle for the continent in mid-eighteenth century. He centers his attention on the region south of the Great Lakes (1748-1754) and west of the mountains, refacing this study, however, and very significantly so, with a more consideration of that southern marginal area, the Florida border. His story is very largely an Indian story, the attempts of English, French, and Spaniards to hold the loyalty of neighboring tribes and to turn this against colonial competitors in the vast expanse of the eastern section of the Mississippi Valley. It serves to throw much light on what someone has very aptly called "The Indian Conquest of America." Cherokee and Creek, Choctaw and Chickasaw, Miami and Shawnee, Red Shoe and Old Briton, indefinite braves and well-known Indian figures come back to life under his pen to work and war for the "brothers" who served them best or gave them the handsomest and most generous presents. The white man, too, receives his share of treatment: the French in Louisiana and in the Illinois Country, the Pennsylvania traders and the Virginia men, the Carolina gents and the Georgia pioneers. The work is a serviceable piece of research, gathering together as it does the many threads which make up the story of the early Trans-Allegheny West. Several interesting contemporary maps are included, but this reviewer feels that Mr. Gipson would have greatly enhanced the value and deepened the understanding of his work by contributing a definite map or two of his own. Contemporary maps are valuable, but they hardly ever give the reader that full satisfaction which a modern drafting, based upon the data which they furnish, will afford him.

JOHN F. BANNON.

*Our Land and Our Lady*, by Daniel Sargent. New York. Longmans. 1939. pp. viii + 262. \$2.50.

This is the book which the Catholic teacher and the Catholic library have been waiting for. It is a Catholic history of Catholic United States, a history of the interesting type which will be read by students of high school and college age with considerable gusto. Starting with the Spanish and French explorers who penetrated the present boundaries of our country, Mr. Sargent continues the story through Catholic Maryland, the great Catholic immigration, the great missionaries of our West and Far West, the building up of the Catholic school system with the help of the teaching sisterhoods, down to the present day and the Maryknollers. Although a small book, a considerable amount of the Catholic history of our country is covered, and through it the reader can obtain a very good idea of the part played by Catholics in the formation of our country. The theme is "Our Land and Our Lady," the part she has played in our history, for she has been the inspiration of so many of our Catholic American heroes.

Yet, while we can appreciate the great worth of this book, on the other hand we must deplore certain defects which could have been so easily avoided with a little more taste upon the part of the author. The theme of "Our Land and Our Lady" is often very strained and brought in in the most incongruous ways in the most inappropriate places. In addition there is a strained over-simplicity in the author's style, many of his "historical" interpretations are distinctly allegorical, and his use of figures frequently tends to the ridiculous.

But perhaps the reviewer is over-critical. It is certain, however, that he read the book with great interest and enjoyment and sincerely believes that such will be the experience of others.

R. L. PORTER.

*Competition for Empire, 1740-1763*, by Walter L. Dorn. New York. Harper's. 1940. pp. xii + 426. Seventy illustrations. \$3.75 (\$2.90 in Harper's 1940 catalog).

Of the twenty-volume "Rise of Modern Europe" series this is number nine. It is sixth in order of publication. Readers who are acquainted with other volumes of the series will know what to expect in this book. And, no doubt, the first feature they will note is the usual bibliographical essay. If the reviewer's first impression is correct, the author had a harder job here than some of his colleagues in the series. This would seem to indicate that the period treated has been of less interest to English readers. Professor Dorn seems, in fact, to lean very heavily on German sources. We suspect that the editor had some difficulty in figuring out the units he assigned to each of his collaborators. In any case, Professor Dorn has made a contribution to "The Rise of Modern Europe."

The events of the mid-eighteenth century were a determining factor in the making of the modern world. Perhaps the reviewer should remark that he has a dislike, instinctive and we hope

rational, for both. But this is no reason for not wanting to know the forces that helped to make us what we are. Briefly, this book tells us how the British Empire laid its secure hold on the world, and how the French intellectuals poisoned the thought of Europe. It is the story of two major wars in which England was victorious over France, and Prussia was raised by the genius and luck of Frederick the Great at the expense of the Austria of the good Maria Theresa and her great bad minister Kaunitz. This was a period of "power politics pure and simple," a period when "religion was no longer and modern liberal ideals were not yet the mainspring of political action." The French Revolution and Napoleon lie three decades ahead.

Competition, shifting alliances, rivalry, wars and balance of power in the old regime have always appeared to us to be chiefly an affair of princes and dynasties. But Professor Dorn shows us the "Leviathan State," authoritative, bureaucratic, paternalistic, in which the "absolute" prince is often enough the servant of the aristocracy. In this quadricentennial year we may be pardoned for wondering why the Jesuits, whose mythical power was being shattered at this time, are scarcely mentioned. Apparently, they and the greatest pope of the century and the whole Catholic Church counted for nothing in the competition for empire!

R. CORRIGAN.

*The Constitutional History of the United States, 1826-1876*, by Homer C. Hockett. Macmillan. New York. 1939. pp. xii + 405. \$3.00.

This is the second volume of a three volume work on the Constitution. In the pages of this quarterly, the present reviewer gave favorable notice to the first volume. An examination of the present product leaves one with the same favorable opinion. There are, of course, some few objectionable features. Teachers may find that the author has too much simplified his matter. This reviewer has, in fact, heard such an objection voiced. If this criticism be valid, it appears that it should be rather less difficult for a teacher to complicate a text from his own knowledge than to break down a complete text for the student.

A more valid criticism, we think, lies in the fact that by adopting a three volume work the cost of texts for a course on the Constitution is greatly increased. The average college text for a year course is in the neighborhood of five dollars. Hockett's three volumes will cost nine. Hockett is good, but at his best he is hardly worth twice as much as the average satisfactory text for a course on the Constitution. No one would deny that the author has produced a clear, useful and interesting review of the salient facts concerning our Constitution. We hope that the financial consideration will not weigh too heavily against the popularity of the book in the classroom.

J. P. DONNELLY.

*Beacon on the Plains*, by Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald. Leavenworth, Kansas. The St. Mary College Press. 1939. pp. 297. \$3.00.

This compact volume of nearly three hundred pages possesses a charm all its own. It records in simple language the deeds of pioneer Jesuits and Loretines in Southeastern Kansas. Its pages are alive with incidents that tell of the difficulties encountered and the triumphs achieved through the dynamic efforts of these great missionary men and women, first among the Indians, and later among the white settlers of this region.

The author thus states the scope of her book: "The main purpose of this study is to set forth the peculiar character of a great missionary enterprise and its contributions in the making of Kansas. . . . In the following pages the history of Osage Mission has been thrust against the background of Government Indian policy, missionary endeavor, and the customs of the Indian life, without which one can neither correctly interpret the origin of the Mission, nor understand the manifold functions assumed by it to achieve a single purpose: The Spread of the Kingdom of Christ on Earth."

The book has a second purpose—that of rectifying "the idea that the atrophying Puritanism of New England was given new life by being transplanted to Kansas at the end of the slavery struggle," and of proving that "the great mass of our early settlers came to Kansas not because they had some great principle to vindicate, but rather because the state offered them certain opportunities either spiritual, or educational, or economic . . ." Sister Mary Paul achieves her second purpose convincingly.

The study has been divided into five parts. The first part treats of the Osage in Kansas: The Jesuit Beginnings Among the Osages and a Brief Sketch of the Life of Father Van Quickenborne, the Father of the Osages. The second part, the Interlude,



prepares us for the third part, which takes up the history of Osage Mission. The author has devoted five chapters to this story. In the last chapter of this third part she proves that the mission was in no sense a failure, for it served as a frontier institution for the spread of civilization and religion in a country that was uncivilized.

The seven illustrations and the map showing the Indian reserves, mission stations and churches of 1859 add value to the book. It is a book of prime importance to the students of Kansas history, and it is a valuable contribution to Church history and mission history. The St. Mary College Press has made a book worthy of its contents; paper, type, binding, all the details of format are in excellent taste. The index is complete and the notes on the character and quality of the sources used are of special value to the research worker.

The appendices—eight in number—are of great worth. They give an accurate as well as carefully documented account of the Osage in Missouri, the opening of the missionary trail, a copy of the contract for the Osage Mission in 1847, the Osage difficulties in the Indian Territory, the Commissioners of Indian Affairs between the years 1852-1869, the Jesuit fathers, coadjutor brothers and scholastics residing at Osage Mission between 1847-1891, a list of the Pioneer Sisters of Loretto buried at St. Paul, Kansas (formerly Osage Mission) with the dates of their death, and a list of the Missionary Stations and Churches in Kansas established by the Jesuit Fathers from Osage Mission.

SR. M. LILLIANA OWENS.

**Calabria the First Italy**, by Gertrude Slaughter, Madison. University of Wisconsin Press. 1939. pp. vii + 330. \$4.00.

Gertrude Slaughter has shifted the emphasis which in many Italian histories centers about Rome and the North to Calabria in the South. In making the South the focal point of her study, the author is attempting to redress a balance. For, as she points out, Calabria is really the first Italy. The reason why Calabria has been hitherto little understood is that it has been little known. Hence, she has taken upon herself the task of discussing the origins and development of the "sunny south", the land of Pythagoras, Cassiodorus, Saint Nilus, Joachim the Prophet, Seminare the teacher of Petrarch, Telesius, Campanella, and a host of others whose contributions to subsequent history were of considerable importance.

Mrs. Slaughter gives the background of the respective figures whom she treats, thus presenting the reader with a double picture—the man and his times. These pictures, when fused together, constitute a composite view of Calabria from its earliest beginnings to the present day. Her material is well chosen, authentic, and interestingly presented. Moreover, her personal acquaintance with the places which she describes, notwithstanding topographical changes, together with her wide background in the classics and in history fit her for the task which she has undertaken and which she has so admirably accomplished. There is a suspicion of a lack of balance in her discussion of the Guelph-Ghibelline question, but this may be partly due to the fact that the limits of the book prevent qualifications and intricate discussions of the matter. The book should be of great interest to high school teachers and to those in higher education.

ROSARIO R. MAZZA.

**The Era of the American Revolution**, edited by Richard B. Morris. New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. xii + 415. \$3.75.

This volume has much to recommend it. Its purpose is one which American historians will find rather pleasing, the acknowledgment of the work of Evarts Boutell Greene. Although the individual studies contained in it may be somewhat technical, the general subject has a very wide appeal. And last, and far from least, the editor has wisely chosen eleven well-known scholars.

The studies, some of which present "new views", are centered around particular interests of each of the writers and deal with a variety of topics. For example, there is one on the Navigation Acts, one on the Writs of Assistance, another on the Sons of Liberty, and one on Eliphalet Dyer. The contributors are Lawrence Harper, O. M. Dickerson, Richard Morris, Max Savelle, Clarence Carter, Louise Dunbar, Herbert Morais, George Groce, Jr., Sidney Pomerantz, Michael Kraus and Robert East.

Consequently it would be difficult to point out any one study as outstanding. It is true that some are more interesting than the others, and some are better handled. We may, however, express a personal preference for Savelle's "The American Balance of Power and European Diplomacy" and Pomerantz's "The Patriot Newspaper and the American Revolution."

MARTIN HASTING.

**Environmental Factors in Christian History**, edited by John Thomas McNeill, Matthew Spinka and Harold R. Willoughby. University of Chicago Press. pp. x + 417. \$4.00.

If the divinity of Christ were a matter of little or no consequence, if the Catholic Church were a mere historical accident, if religion were a sort of "funny inside feeling," we should find much to praise in the earlier chapters of this book. In an age of religious atrophy it is good to see this display of able scholarship. At a time when God and Christ and the Church are the object of attack as never before, one must commend every sincere effort to uncover the truth still hidden in the records of the past. We are even disposed to look with a friendly eye on zeal for learning in good old healthy Protestantism. But the Protestant Liberal, the Modernist, makes us feel uncomfortable.

Here we have a collection of twenty-one studies presented as a memorial volume to Dean Shirley Jackson Case by his admirers. The writers range over the long stretch from John the Baptist to the American Frontier. Several of them are well known among historians. As a group they represent a high cross-section of "Liberal" divinity schools throughout the country. Their work will be of particular interest to lecturers in theology and Church history, who will be, we hope, immune to whatever poison is in it.

As a whole the book is quite readable. The topics, moreover, are well chosen. In fact, the reviewer found little that was new of rather immediate interest and utility. And this is more than can be said for the usual *Festschrift*. Where the contributors are merely historians as, for example, Professor John T. McNeill discussing the "feudalization of the Church," or William Warren Sweet in his study of the "Frontier in American Christianity" we like them best. But we very much dislike "Liberal" theology and the meta-historical nonsense of some of our Biblical critics.

R. CORRIGAN.

**In Winter We Flourish: Life and Letters of Sarah Worthington King Peter, 1800-1877**, by Anna Shannon McAllister. New York. Longmans, Green and Co. 1939. \$3.50.

Mrs. McAllister's *Life of Mrs. Sherman* was the Catholic Book Club's choice as Book of the Month in June, 1936; it was also a prize-winner later in the contest of the National League of American Pen Women. The *Life of Mrs. Sherman* deserved these and other honors. What honors then are to come to the *Life of Mrs. Peter*, since it surpasses both in general interest and in finished presentation the earlier work as far as mature production excels a first essay?

Mrs. Sherman's was a large life in itself and interesting for its many contacts; Mrs. Peter's life was in itself no less broad and deep; but whereas the contacts of the former were, as we may say, local those of Mrs. Peter were world-wide. Daughter of Governor Thomas Worthington of Ohio; wife, first of Edward King, whose father Rufus King was twice the Federalist candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States; after Mr. King's decease, wife of William Peter, a literary Englishman resident in Philadelphia,—Sarah moved out from the wilds of pioneer Ohio into the swirl of the highest political, artistic, and religious circles of her day. There was no one, who was not one in her time, that she did not know. She was blessed with an understanding heart; but it was not her admiration for the many devoted nuns, some of them now candidates for the altar, whom she met intimately; nor her wonder at the learning and sanctity of princes and cardinals and Pius IX, that lighted her way to Catholicity. It was at Jerusalem, and then in the catacombs, that she realized which was the true Church.

L. J. KENNY.

**The English Navigation Laws**, by Lawrence A. Harper. New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. xi + 503. \$3.75.

The sub-title given this excellent work, "A Seventeenth-Century Experiment in Social Engineering," very neatly indicates the author's viewpoint. His study is that. The Navigation Laws have not been reviewed in function of a thesis to be proved; all costs; rather they have been considered in function of the definite end which they were designed to attain, and emphasis has been laid on the factors which made for success or failure. In doing so, Doctor Harper has not limited himself to studying



Laws in their relation to the American colonies; home practice and home reaction are equally vital. And, while the bulk of the study deals with the seventeenth century, the author has not hesitated to expand his research both forward and backward to pick up points which illustrate his problem. After reviewing the legislative genesis of the Laws and their administration both at home and abroad, discussion is turned to a test of success. They are designed "to foster English shipping, to train English sailors, and to employ English shipwrights," and on all scores the author's judgment brings in a verdict of success, varying, it is true, in degree. As regards the American colonies, certain of his opinions show a reversal of current acceptance of equality of advantage to mother country and colony arising from the Old Colonial System. Throughout he is keenly aware of the importance of the "human factor" in the working of any social engineering scheme—for example, he very correctly feels justified in remarking that "if the colonists violated the laws, the explanation need not be sought in frontier influence; sufficient reason can be found in the fact that the colonists were Englishmen." Appendix I contains some very valuable statistical information along with a helpful summary of navigation regulations. Other social scientists than the historian should find the work enlightening.

JOHN F. BANNON.

*Religion and the State in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century*, by Reba Carolyn Strickland. New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. 211. \$2.50.

With a perfectly appalling bibliography and at least half a dozen references on every page, with the happiest possible facility of expression on the part of the author, one might well believe that this neat volume would compel conviction that Georgia was a happy haven for religious refugees, as much so as Pennsylvania, from the outset of its history. "Anglicans, Scotch Presbyterians, French Huguenots, Swiss Calvinists, Lutherans, Moravians, and Jews all found religious freedom in Georgia from the earliest days." The careful reader will observe a notable omission in this list. In fact throughout the book, he would find more than one mention of the "hated Papist," hated in English society, but not by the author. With the adoption of the American Constitution religious freedom came at last to the Catholic.

There's the book. Beautiful in every way and exquisitely finished! But in this immense display of sources, one seeks in vain for Dr. Herbert Bolton's edition of Arredondo's "Spain's Title to Georgia," or for one word about those wonderful Franciscan Missions, as wonderful as those of California, which survived well into the Eighteenth Century, and which consequently call for attention in a work with the title of the volume before us.

L. J. KENNY.

*Home Missions on the American Frontier*, by Colin B. Goodykoontz. Caldwell. Caxton. 1939. pp. 460. \$3.50.

This is not a story of the Catholic Missions. However, it is one that a Catholic might read with interest and profit, and this for several reasons. First of all it gives us an idea of what other denominations have done in the matter of early day, and later missionary and educational work and, more enlightening still, why they did it.

Emphasis is placed on the organization which functioned from 1826 to about 1893 under the title of the "American Home Mission Society" and which represented a co-operative effort on the part of the larger Protestant churches to promote the preaching of the gospel in the ever-moving West. Undoubtedly the Society did some very fine work. However, the most interesting thing about the whole "mission movement" is the motive which chiefly inspired its beginnings and supplied the most effective goad for its continued labor. This was a fear, and sometimes a hatred, of the Catholic Church. The successes of the Catholic missionary and educator, along with the great influx of Catholic immigrants, alarmed the Protestant sects. Some of their members, of whom Samuel F. B. Morse is perhaps the best known, lost their heads and attacked the Church with bitter and unsubstantiated charges. Others, more calm, decided to build better schools and churches and supply better preachers and teachers. To promote this the leading sects pooled their capital and talent.

Professor Goodykoontz makes no pretense of writing anything but a history of the Protestant Missions, and this from a Protestant viewpoint. Consequently we can make allowances for his interpretation. However, it is at times difficult to distinguish the author's own opinions from those of some of the early writers and missionaries on whom he relies for his source material.

MARTIN HASTING.

*Foundations of Western Civilization*, by William J. Bossenbrook and Rolf Johannesen. New York. D. C. Heath. 1939. pp. 695. \$3.75.

The present work is the first of two volumes designed to tell the story of western civilization. It is another of the increasing number of survey treatments of European history, which are being written of late years to answer the needs of our changed outlook on the so-called freshman history course. As such the present work has a number of fine points to recommend it—though this reviewer wonders if it might not be more serviceable as a book for collateral reading than as a text proper. Both professors and students will find a number of the viewpoints of the authors suggestive and stimulating. The Catholic historian, unfortunately, will find several of the ideas expounded highly unsatisfactory, not to say scientifically untenable. Excellent notes on pre-history are marred by an evolutionary bias; certain notes on the genesis and inspiration of Christianity are outmoded; a rather loose use of verbs, as "assumed" and "believed," in referring to the Papacy in its early days is regrettable. However, by and large we have perfect reason to feel the evident sincerity of the authors in such matters and, while we congratulate and thank them, we regret that their information is lacking in whole fullness of historical truth. Attention should be called to the very helpful and judiciously prepared chronological tables preceding each section, which include social, economic, cultural, and religious, as well as political developments.

JOHN F. BANNON.

*European Governments and Politics*, by Frederic Austin Ogg. New York. Macmillan. 1939. pp. viii + 936. \$4.25.

The rapid change in the political scene during recent years has brought on a sudden interest in governments, their structure and function. Responding to this interest, Professor Ogg has written a book which "like the European world itself in these fateful days, . . . is divided between governmental systems grounded on two sharply opposed principles or plans of political organization and action—parliamentary democracy and totalitarian dictatorship." Under the first of these principles Professor Ogg gives an account of the evolution, structure and function of the Cabinet Governments of Great Britain and France. Under the second principle he treats of the National Socialist Government of Germany, to which treatment he prefixes several chapters on the old Empire and the Weimar Republic as necessary for an understanding of the rise and triumph of Nazism; lastly, and more briefly, he deals with the Fascist Government of Italy, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The current interest of the subject matter, the competent treatment, the language, accurate, concise, and crystal clear, are distinctive features which should commend this book highly to the teacher, to the student, for whom the volume is designed, and to the general reader. This volume represents a revision of a book published in 1934 under the same title. The revised edition has been brought up to date and expanded along lines that are of special interest today. Professor Ogg's treatment of the Parliamentary Government of Great Britain gives special evidence of his authoritative and analytic knowledge of political science.

VIRGIL C. BLUM.

*Commonwealth or Anarchy?*, by Sir John A. R. Marriott. New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. 227. \$2.00.

We have here a book with a purpose. Its subtitle is: A Survey of Projects of Peace from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century. His method, the author tells us, is expository, not hortatory. His aim is to explain, not to convince. It is, of course, possible that Mr. Marriott has produced this little volume merely as a by-product of his extensive historical research. And yet we feel that his tribute to the *Pax Britannica* is something more than a bald statement of fact. "The British Empire," he concludes, "may justly claim to be the most effective instrument ever devised for peace on earth." Personally, we are prepared to yield at least this much: a single dominant power is more likely to maintain peace, order and, possibly, justice than is either the old hypocritical balance of power or the recent frenzy of nationalism. Maybe, after all, Britain has the answer.

To recommend this book there is the fact that it is a reprint. Nicholas Murray Butler, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and two university presses have thought it worth while to publish an American edition. And so we have in brief compass a score of projects for world peace from Sully's Great Design to the Covenant of the League of Nations. Born for the most part amid the sufferings of war and rendered futile by the



insanity of succeeding wars, these museum pieces can surely be helpful in our planning of a better world. But schemes and systems, new methods and new machinery are not going to cure the beast in man. Nor will the poet's dream of human solidarity come true if it is merely humanitarian. We can admire the good will of our peacemakers, and still hope that they will learn by their failures as once the Prodigal Son learned.

Quotations are sometimes the best part of a book. We like this one from Rousseau's *Project of Perpetual Peace*: "... undeniably it is above all to Christianity that Europe still owes today such social sense as has survived among its members. ... Christianity, so despised at its birth, furnished in time an asylum for its detractors. And having persecuted it so cruelly and so vainly, the Roman Empire found in it resources which its own strength could not provide. Christian missions were of more avail than pagan victories. Rome sent out its bishops to retrieve the failures of its generals; its priests triumphed when its soldiers were beaten." The religious bond, the modern prophet writes, was stronger than either political institutions or codes of law. The closely knit society of Christendom was the creation of religion. And until disillusioned peacemakers see the light it is useless to talk about a "warless world." Meantime, Christians would do well to learn from great thinkers who had a partial solution for our trouble.

R. CORRIGAN.

**Henry George**, by Albert Jay Nock. New York. William Morrow & Company. 1939. pp. 224. \$2.50.

Few figures who appeared on the fantastic nineteenth century American scene are more puzzling to the contemporary mind than Henry George. His career, which began with such obscure occupations as cabin boy and gold prospector, and culminated in international prominence in his role of author and orator, presents a parade of unparalleled anomalies. His was the unique but unwelcome distinction of being the only writer whose works sold in the millions of copies during his lifetime and whose steps were relentlessly dogged by poverty. Out of his short span of fifty-eight years George spent three years abroad and fifty-five in America; yet the result of his crusade for social reform was more substantial and enduring in foreign parts than in his native land. Although one of the most formidable anti-collectivists who ever lived, it was his fate, in the author's estimation, to be largely instrumental in setting in motion the machinery which has transformed England into a socialized state.

Mr. Nock very appropriately calls his thoroughly interesting study of Henry George an essay. It is less a biographical sketch than an attempt to analyze his subject's philosophy and the smug, brutal society in which it incubated. His undisguised admiration for the many undoubted merits of his subject does not blind him to the man's lamentable shortsightedness, oversensitiveness and irritating habit of making unfair assumptions in personal controversy.

C. J. RYAN.

**The Social Philosophy of John Taylor of Caroline**, by Eugene Tenbroeck Mudge. New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. xii + 227. \$2.75.

**The Disposition of Loyalist Estates in the Southern District of the State of New York**, by Harry B. Yoshpe. New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. 226. \$2.75.

In the blurb which Columbia University Press inserts in Mudge's book, Charles A. Beard is quoted as holding that this book "is more important for the history of American political thought than any fifty treatises imported from Europe." The statement at first startles. And after one has read the book, Beard's sentence is seen to be a response of a Delphic oracle, equivocating beautifully. John Taylor did most of his stiff and drab writing long after the occasions for such had passed. He has little to offer by way of light on our institutions and he had practically no influence on his own age. He begins with a fundamental error and goes on to muddle himself into unusual conclusions. The author has attempted to analyze Taylor's political philosophy and has done a competent job. But the basic question to be asked is, why analyze it at all?

Yoshpe's monograph is useful. We have very little in the way of careful studies of exactly what the Loyalists suffered and precisely how the Revolutionary Patriots exercised their patriotism to seize Loyalist estates. This book will have no wide appeal, but it will help monumental historians to write a more complete history of the nation. And for this alone, the publication of Yoshpe's study is valuable.

JOSEPH P. DONNELLY.

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